

California Historical Society Quarterly

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
James Clyman, His Diaries and Reminiscences.....	307
(Continued from Vol. IV, No. 3)	
EDITED BY CHARLES L. CAMP	
The Plant Content of Adobe Bricks, With a Note on Adobe Brick Making.....	361
GEORGE W. HENDRY AND MARGARET P. KELLY	
Documentary — The Frémont Episode.....	374
(Continued from Vol. IV, No. 1)	
Book Reviews	392
Meetings of the Society.....	399
Amendments to the By-Laws.....	404
In Memoriam	406
New Members (Since October, 1923).....	407

Vol. IV, No. 4

December, 1925

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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No entrance fees are required, but the dues of \$10.00 per annum are payable upon application for membership and on each second Monday in January thereafter. A subscription to the Quarterly is included in the dues.

Back numbers of the Quarterly can be supplied for the present, to members only, at the price of \$2.00 each.

Members are invited to submit articles for publication in the Quarterly.

All correspondence should be addressed to the Society at 508 Wells Fargo Building, San Francisco.

California Historical Society Quarterly

JAMES CLYMAN His Diaries and Reminiscences

(CONTINUED)

Clyman's diaries and other papers formerly in the Tallman collection are now the property of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, with whose kind permission they are printed in this, and subsequent issues of the *Quarterly*.

[DIARIES AND MEMORANDA OF A JOURNEY THROUGH THE FAR WEST, 1844 TO 1846]

[BOOK 1]

[Cover]

May 1844

[Inside front cover]

Isaac Lightner

Independence

Mo

S. C. Owens

Independence

Mo

[*The Oregon Trail, Independence to Little Blue River, May 14 to June 30*]

1844 of May the 14th Left Independence & proceeded on to West
port Roads extremely bad owing to the Leate greate rains

15 at Westport morning dull slight rains

(Cr. to 5.00 5.50

Lent Harris\$15.25 Cents

Wm Fallon⁸³ 2.00

about 10 left West port continues to rain all day passed the head
of Blue River came to camp at Elm Brook passed the methodist
mission and Several Shawnee Indian Formes in the course of the day
made 18 miles

16 It rained all night last night in one continued and rapid
Shower This morning the whole prairie covered in water Shoe mouth
deep no wood to be had except what we had hauled in waggons
Started throug the rain about 8 miles over a roling prairie covered nearly

⁸³ Perhaps the trapper, William O. Fallon, who came to California in 1845 and was one of the notorious "fourth relief" of the Donner party. Bancroft, however, says he came to California from New Mexico in 1845.

knee deep in mud and water camped about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from timber packed some up to camp on our mules it continued to rain all night Slightly

16 [17] got up our teams and put to the road again made 9 miles to Black Jack creek amuddy desolate looking place about noon to day left the Sant a fee trace these are two of the longest roads that are perhaps in the world the one to Sant Afee and the other to oregon doubled teams nearly all the way Both teams Swamped down and had to unload our team breakeing an axeltree

17 [18] about 9 oclock it began to rain again it [rained] all day so much that we could not finish our axeltr[ee] continued to rain all night and our beds ware overflown in water nearly mid side deep

19 Sunday a dismal rainy thick morning. all Brot to Stand about 11 A M after a Tremendeous Shower it Slacked up for the rest of the day got a new axel tree in and reloaded our waggon Saw & picked a considerabble fine mess of ripe Strawberies

20 Thick and foggy the women & children are coming out again haveing been confined to the waggons for 2 days past went to a camp of 4 waggons in the fore noon returned and crossed the western Branch of Black Jack country high roling Prairie interspersed with numerous small groves of Timber Five wagons left encamped a $\frac{1}{2}$ mile Behind us Two men returned this morning after some cattle that had strayed away

afternoon doubled teams and moved 4 miles camped on a high ridge in a small grove of Brack oak 2 fine looking yong Ladies in camp

22 Laid at camp all day to wait for the falling of the waters and drying of the roads 2 teams that ware behind came up this evening

22 Moved ahead 8 miles over roling hilly Prairie 6 miles crossed dirty muddy Brook camped on the waukarusha Quite a fine little rivulet with a fine dry bank on the East Side Several Shawnee Indians pased our camp yestarday and to day a fine clear day with brisk south wind dug a kind of a road down the bank &c.

23 a fine clear night and a pleasant morning the small river Waukarusha (to) yet to ford with teams walked out through camp observed all sizes and ages Several fine intelegent young Ladies engaged one of them to make me a pair of Pantaloons picked some strawberries a handsome country fine land but timber shrubby 5 waggons came up to day 2 men from the mountains stoped an hour at our camp from some of the trading Stations on the arkansas a Lot of pack mules Likewise passed us on their way to Fort Larrimie

We have been passing through lands sofar belonging to the Shawnee nation or Tribe of Indians nearly all of which Tribe have Quit hunting and gone into a half civilized manner of living cultivating small Lots of ground in corn Beans Potatoes and grains and vegetables their country is almost intierly striped of all kinds of game but is fine and Productive in grains and Stock both horses and cattle Timber is scarce but finely watered in part the trail passes through The company of pack mules and ponies that passed to day are a part of Mr. Bissenette^{s 84} and will [follow] 7 or 800 miles of our rout

24 It rained all night by day light our teams ware moving to the river which we had been expecting [to] fall but which began to rise again we let down by cords over a steep rock bluff through mud knee deep an[d] in the rain pouring in torrents me[n] women and children dripping in mud and water over Shoe mouth deep and I Thought I never saw more determined resolution even amongst men than most of the female part of our company exhibited The leaving of home of near andear friend the war whoop and Scalping Knif The long dreary Journey the privations of a life in a Tent with all the horrors of flood and field and even the element seemed to combine to make us uncomfortable But still there was a determined resolution sufficient to overcome all obsicles with the utmost exertion we crssed over 20 wag-gons by about 10 o'clock when the waters became too deep to cross and in about an hour it rose so as to swim a horse it continued to rain in rapid Thunder Showers all day with a strong S.W. wind

25th It slackd raining about dusk and did not rain any during the night tho river rose 6 or 7 Feet during the night about 8 the sun made a (a) faint glimmering appearance all hands Buisy in contriving ways and means to cross the teams remaining on the oposite side We had a kind of an election which resulted in the chois of Col [Nathaniel] Ford for our cap^t or leader By a considerable of a majority all seem to enjoy good health not with standing our extremely disagreeable Situation and a Mr. [L.] Everhart who is taking a trip for his health swam his horse several times since [coming] here and is making rapid improvemens in his health one verry ordinary conoe being all we have for a ferry boat our crossing, progresses verry slowly and the water continues still rising

26 a fine pleasant night and a clear morning the Ladies passing from Tent to Tent Early our ferrying continues to progress Slowly Some young men got a hymn Book and sung a few familiar reformation

⁸⁴ One of the traders at Fort Laramie.

camp meeting songs last night which had a peculiar Symphonic and feeling Effect in connection with the time and place. a call was made this morning for a regular organization

J Crissman [Joel Crisman] 8 [votes] head of our mess

S Crissman

J McKinley 1

S[amuel] Walker 5 2

K [Robert?] Walker 3

J. M. Barnette 4

J Clyman 5

B[enjamin] M. Robinson

L. Morin

T. M. Adams

A[ttey]. Neal 7

P[eter]. Neal 5

G[eorge] Neal

Alex Neal 6

Cal[vin] Neal 1

J [Robert?] Neal

L EverHart

Snooks⁸⁵ 6

J Hillhouse

The before Mentioned men 19 in number in 7 waggons formed in to one mess for mutual assistance in Traveling and encamping near together about 2 oclock we got all our Teams waggons and Baggage over & ascertained that there ware 92 men present made some regulations to prepare for keeping of a night and day guard as we are now not more (the) [than] 2 days easy travel from the Kaw Indian villagis the first of the wild roveing tribes that we meet with on our way this evening two waggons that ware in the rear came up opposite side & we ware told that 12 or 15 Teams are yet coming on it has been fine and clear & the evening pleasant the Ladies gave us a few hymns in the afternoon which had a pleasant meloncholly affect

27 A great stir commenced early & a little after sun rise waggons began to roll out at 7 in morning we made 8 miles in an Northerly direction over a picturesque and rather hilly prairie The waukarusha that has given us somuch trouble & consumed so much time is about 12 rods wide running from S.W. to N.E. & Entering the Kansas or Kaw river about 8 or 10 miles below our last encampment for the first time we have this evening encamped on ridge of prairie & in the form of a hollw squair early in the afternoon it commenced raining again & rained in thunder showers all night

28 The earth completely covered in water at 7 got under way although it continued rain a thick fine rain 2 gents and myself started for the Kansas river with a view of examining the roads and the ferry proceeded on about 18 miles to acreek & found it verry high and rapid being swollen by the last nights rains turned loose our animals to graze and consult remained about an hour saw a heavy shower

⁸⁵ Perhaps the P. Snooks who was wounded in the Cascade fight during the Yakima war in 1856.

coming up from S.W. Saddled our mules & after finding the creek was swimming, (and) started back for camp a tremendous shower came on before we fairly got saddled and in 10 minuits we ware completely drenched with rain it continued to rain all the way to camp the roads being deep and heavy thee teams ware Scattered about 2 miles in length along the open prairie ridge on which they ware traveling each one pressing on to some shelter through mud and rain became discouraged one by one and stoped on the ground whare they happened to be many without fire or cooked provision to nurrish them after a verry tidious & toilsome d[a]ys drive I arived at my mess wet as water could make me and found them all sheltering themselves in the best way they could about the waggons they ware fortunate enough however to have furnished themselves with a fair supply of wood & now commenced the tug of war for the rain again renued its strength & fell in perfect sluces as though the windows of heaven had again been broken up and a second deluge had commenced intermingled with vived flashes of Lightning and deep growling thunder which continued until about dark when it slaked up for the night, and here let me say there was one young Lady which showed herself worthy of the bravest undaunted poieneer of [the] west for after having kneaded her dough she watched and nursed the fire and held an umblella over the fire and her skillit with the greatest composure for near 2 hours and baked bread enough to give us a verry plentifull supper and to her I offer my thanks of gratitude for our last nights repast Billitts of wood ox yokes Saddles and all kinds of matter now Became in requisition to raise our bodies above the water and we spent a verry uncomfortable night in all the forms of moisture short of swiming

29 Truged around through the mud and water Shoe mouth deep got a bite of Breakfast and put to the road again our whole distance yesterday being about 12 miles again made a scattering drive 6 miles to the Tunga Nunga the creek spoken of yesterday in the afternoon all the teams came up encamped on a fine dry Bluff on the S side had a clear night and fine

30 Morning rode over to the Kansas found it verry full and S. Bank overflown several teams crossed to day the day fine & fair saw a number of the Kaw Iindians a misrable poor dirty Lazy Looking Tribe and disgusting in the extreme To lazy to work and to cowardly to go to the boffaloe whare they frequently meet with their enemies get a few killed and return to dig roots Beg and starve 2 or 3 months then make another effort which may or may not be more successfull our

ferrying goes on Slowly it being difficult to get to the boat on account of the low grounds being overflown⁸⁶

31 a fine clear night and a pleasant morning Mr Texes Smiths⁸⁷ mess leaving for the Ferry & Capt Ford followed our mess remain to give the women a chance for washing passed on to the Kansas about 16 waggons having passed over the river without much difficulty.

1844 June the 1st Saturday

made 4 mils yesterday Encamped on the Bluff near the Ferry performed a singular and Farcicle operation of guarding our stock running loose on the Prairie & found them more scattered this morning than if we had let them roam at (at) large a warm morning with the appearance of rain went out early to get in our horsess could not find my horse and a mess mates mule both fine animals slept restlessly rose early

2 Started in search of my horse & comrades morins mule rode around our encampment several times and back on our trail 3 or 4 miles at last took the track down the course of the Kansas on an

⁸⁶ Buck, in his *History of Milwaukee*, quotes the following from the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of August 11, 1844. Col. Elisha Starr was the editor of that paper:

We received the following letter a few days since from Col. Clyman, who is on his way to Oregon Territory, with a company who intend to settle in that country. Col. C. was formerly a resident of this county, and will be remembered by many as a veteran, who has had almost as many hairbreadth escapes as the celebrated Col. Crockett, of whom he is not a bad representative.

Tonga Morgia [Nunga] Creek, Four Miles West of Kaw Village)

May 30, 1844.

Friend Starr:—We arrived here yesterday; thirty-nine wagons, about one hundred men, and about the same number of women and children, in all I have been but a few days in camp, and cannot give particulars, with twenty or thirty teams yet behind. Forty-one teams are north of the Kansas river, and ten teams three or four days ahead of us. You will perceive by this time that we muster about one hundred wagons, and from five to seven hundred souls, when we are fairly collected.

We have had almost one continued shower of rain since we left the settlements. We are commencing to cross the Kansas river today, which will occupy all our exertions for the next two or three days. We shall not all get collected in one company in less than eight or ten days. Our last and general meeting will take place on the highlands between the Kansas and Great Platte rivers, eighty or a hundred miles northwest from our present position. The traveling thus far has been the worst possible (to be possible,) at all prairie encampments, without wood, and wallowing in mud, swimming creeks and rivers. But all, thus far, have got along well, and without serious loss or accident. The ladies in particular have evinced an uncommon degree of fortitude and resignation under all hardships and privations incident to traveling in mud and water.

All right, go ahead, and no grumbling.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES CLYMAN.

⁸⁷ It is not strange that this gentleman was traveling under a pseudonym. He was an Albany bank officer who had absconded. He made a trip around the world, became a rich and prosperous merchant, and was finally exposed by an army officer who recognized him. He was driven to dissipation and ruin and returned to his family in the East. His real name was Egbert Olcott. Cf. S. A. Clarke in *Overland Monthly*, vol. 10, pp. 410-415.

Indian trail followed our animals about 8 miles when they left the trail and went in to a thicket where our animals had been tied [to] a couple of large trees and saw the bed where one of the Kaws had spread his couch near by and taken a happy and no doubt pleasant repose over his rascally and ill gotten treasure after examination we followed on again over rocky bluffs smooth prairies and Brushy thickets until no doubt we were discovered for our animals had been put to the keen jump and run 3 or 4 miles when caution again was taken and hard rocky Bluffs again taken until we became discouraged and nearly lost ourselves arrived at 5 evening at camp

3 put to stand to know what measures to take to recover our Lost animals crossed over the river hired two Indians and made another Trail to find our animals went back to where we left the Trail Last night followed it 5 or 6 miles to where we came to the main wagon Trail about 15 miles East of our encamp 9 Teams having passed a few hours previous we could not follow any further Returned to camp tired and dejected with fair prospect of making the remainder of our long Toilsome Journey to Oregon on foot

and here let me remark that this is [the] third season that a considerable emigration has passed right through the Kaw village and crossed the Kansas at this place yet I have not heard that Major Cummings or any other agent or Interpreter has ever been here at the time they passed which is certainly a great dereliction of the duties of an agent Last year I understand that the Emigrant[s] lost that never were returned 3 or 4 horses & 20 or thirty head of neat cattle and a considerable amount of other property and we have Lost 200 Dollars worth of horses mules and other property which might be mostly recovered if time would permit and we had an interpreter that would look to our interest but as it is we must submit without recourse the Kaws are now starting on their summer hunt and our Stolen horses cannot be obtained until they return which will not be until some time about the first of August or later

4th a Thick foggy morning 9 clear off fine & pleasant all hands still engaged getting our stock across the river which is beginning to fall one of our Indians returned without finding our animals nine Teams came up on the opposite side of the river I am inclined to think that there is a much better route than the one we are taking By crossing the Kansas at ferry on the Military road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott and Taking the high lands between the Kansas and Wolf river still keeping west after passing Wolf river between the Nemihaw and Kansas until you pass the heads of the Nemihaw you gain the main high land between the Kansas & Great

Platt where insted of Swiming rivers you will heave to shape your course so as to strike water once or twice a day and bear on to the Great platt near the head of the grand Island

5th crossed over the river went 10 miles up the river to the village of the head chief a tall lean wrinkld faced Filthy looking man with a forehead indicating deceet Dissimilutoin and intrigue and more like a Beggarly scape gallows than a Chief but nodoubt these fine Qualities are higly prized by the Kaw nation after telling him through an interperter that whites wanted nothing of the Kaws than a passage through their country the water thy drank and the wood thy kooked their victual with all other things that thy injured or used they would pay for and that I took it verry unkindly of him to allow his young men to steal our horses and cattle He talked with great energy assuring me that if he could See his rascally scamps with our horses he would immediately bring them to us and assured us that in three days he thought we might expect to see our horses I however put but little confidence in his asseverations a clear warm day and a warm night.

6 Returned to camp awarm clar morning all waiting for the rear of our camp to cross the river about dusk in the evening Jo a kaw who speaks pretty fair English came up to our camp & told me that 2 young men had been down to the Shawnees and came back with three ponies Suspitions had rested on these two scamps for some days past that they had stolen our animals and now the thing was Explained

7 Three of us and two friendly Kaws started to overtake the two horse thieves who had followed a party that ware starting out on a Buffeloe hunt it commenced raining early & continued all day late in the afternoon after swiming two creeks & wadeing three more breast deep I arived at [the] village in the midst of a Tremendeous hail storm And found about 20 Drunken Indians in a dirt covered lodge half knee deep in water Judge of my feeling a rapid hail Storm out[side] a hog wallow within all in unison the Thunder Lightning & hail the schreems an yells within and my object to recover stolen property being instantly known all eyes were directed on me a loud angry Quarrel commenced between my Friends and enemies and my situation was far from being envious for Knives ware soon drawn and one Flurrished over my head the indian that held it was soon grappled & a half dozen ware as soon wallowing in the mud on the ground floor of the Lodge

8 Returned to camp which had moved about 12 miles up the river did not reach the camp till after midnight in a tremendous

thunder Shower lay down dripping with water and as soon as I became warm fell asleep and slept soundly untill day light though the water raised in a perfect Spring in under us

9 Sundy

no guard last night and [rose?] two horses and two mules missing walked up the creek a little and saw the Moccasin tracks under a steep Bluff all explained the animals ware Stolen after a considerable search found whare they had swam the creek Capt Ford and 10 men went in persuit could not move camp on account of high water in the afternoon Capt Ford Discovered two indians on high points in the prairie on approaching them he found they were in possession of his lost animals and he brought them to camp the Kaws said that they found the mules & horses in possession of an Oto Indian whom they beat and whiped and took the stolen horses from him and ware returning to us with them when cap^t Ford first saw them but this story did not go down with many of us

10th it commenced raining about an hour before or 2 before daylight and rained all day without a moments cesation the creek on which we are encamped bears the dignified name of Knife river and rose 15 feet during the day the [Kaws] that had Capt Fords Horses went away to day verry much disadisfied not getting as much pay as they expected Several of us tried to make them understand that we had sent to Fort Levenworth for an escort of (of) dragoons & hope it may have a good efect

11 It continued to rain all night and is still raining the prairie has become so soft that it will [not] bear the weight of a man in many places Several persons are becomeing discouraged on account of our slow progress and it is almost enough to discourage the stoutest and bravest amongst us I now see the water spreading on all the low grounds & if it was not for the strip of timber it [would] have the appearance of an extensive Lake

12 No guard last night it rained all night but not so rapid as to keep the creek up as it fell about 3 feet 8 oclock we saw a watry glance of the sun for about a minuit all camp regulations are lost & each individual seeking a dry Sheltered spot to stand or lie down on our Tents beds blankets clothing provision and every thing almost rotting and no prospect of drying them and even our cattle are Scarcely able to walk the muddy weather having given them the fouts. It still continues to rain moved camp a $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to escape the mud which resembled a brick yard on our old encampment without the least strech of immagination

13 It rained all last night verry rapidly & the creek rose again 6

or 8 feet 10 A.M. we saw the sun & a general shout was raised through all the camp after 80 hours steady rain we saw the Kansas river from the Bluffs & it shews 8 or 10 miles wide the sun shines pale and watry with no fair prospects of clear weather

A great Dijection in camp as it is imposible to overcome natures obsticles & many are brooding over fine houses dry beds & pleasant Society all of which are scarce here on the bluffs of Knife river & the distance and circumstance allmost seem to forbid our ever regaining any of the comforts of civitization and verry little encouragemet can be given to the fearefull and Timerous

14th A thick foggy morning but Some prospect of Better weather sadly disappointed we barly saw the sun through thick foggy showers aand the day closed in without drying our clothes & provisions.

15 a dull Foggy morning without any pospect of clear weather a disaffected camp without unity or concert in any matter except Sleeping which is performed by the male part of the camp to the greatest perfection several complaining of the chollic

10 oclk Maijor Richard Cummings arived on the oposite side of the creek on his way home from running some lines between The Kaws & Pawnees the maijor is goverments agent for the Kaw & Several other tribes of Neighbouring Indians & we ware well pleased to see him so near us

16 Sunday

the clouds braking away with a prospect of fair weather to dry our Baggage one clear day the first we have seen for 8 drid all our Baggage and commenced making a raft to cross the creek the camp looks Quite cheerfull this evening and our prospects have a better appearance for Traveling

17 Commenced early to make preperations for crossing the creek about [?] it commenced hailing from the west but soon changed to rain one hour more of fair weather would have seen apart of us on the other side but such was not our fortune and when we will be able to leave the Bluff on which we are encamped the Lord in his prove-dence either of Mercy or anger only knows

At 2 P.M. the rain slaked up & all hands to work again we By active exertion crossed over 19 Teams and encamped on a miserably dirty muddy Bottom that had been overflown 6 or 8 feet deep only 24 Hours previous

18 Thunder & an apearance of more rain a warm sultry disagreeable morning & no better pospect of dry weather than there was a month since when the rains commenced against all expectation the

day passed without rain and all hands moved out about 1 mile on the Prairie & the sun set clear for once at last

19 How Sadly are we frequently mistaken when we depend on our own calculations for the sun had hardly shot its last rays over the western horizon when a small Black cloud shewed itself in the S.W. and the grumbling thunder began to growl & in ten minuits a rapid thunder Shower was desending in torrents on us which however was not of long duration for it passd off to the S.E. & about dark gave us a Splended natural meteorick Exhibition the electrik fluid Sparkling and flashing in front & byond the dark heavy masses of fleecy cloud which shewed like frowning mountains Stupendeous rocks & deep chasms & dark raviens illuminated with dazzing brileancy too bright & glancing for the eye to dwel on & might be truly be called the Sublime aweful Rolled out early through the rain which continued untill 12 o'clock when the sun broke out had several views of the Kansas river which was overflown from Bluff to Bluff 8 or 10 miles wide made 10 miles encamped on a narrow ridge $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from timber a Bright clear evining and a fine view of extensive uneven Prairie pospect

20 A fine fair morning rolled out along a ridge Northwardly on account of the back water from the Kansas made 5 miles and halted to look for a passage over the Black vermilion Several returned after some hours of fruitless search the Teamsters becoming tired of waiting took a S.W. Ridge made about 5 miles & encamped a good ford having been discovered on the best course we returned to camp the day haveing been clear & bright the highlands are becoming firm.

21 Some for Rafting near the mouth of the creek some for returning to the ford discovered and some for hunting another ford after about 4 hours search another ford was discovered and we rolled out to it Distant 3 miles and immediate set to work to prepare the banks (which are verry steep and muddy) for crossing in about 2 hours we commenced crossing & more than half the teams passed over the river Jordan (or vermilion as it is called) and if Jordan more black & muddy than this stream it would hardly run, observed several marien shells in flint rock and some pieces of pettrified wood (a fine clear day)

22 A clear night & a fine Beautifull morning yestardy Mr. Robinson Mr Morin & Mr [Isaac W.] Alderman Returned without Sloten [stolen] animals which ware taken on the First of this month after Swimming Sawping and wadeing and enduring innumerable hardships almost Beyond discription we once more gladly hailed our messmates to camp They Likewise brot us some news From civilization The streams South and east being all overflown ennumerable

damage Sweeping Fences Houses Barns & in fine distroying all kinds of Property on the intervalles so far as heard from And Likewise information from the Political world As it appears there to there has been a great Troubling & Striving of the eliments the mountain having at last brot forth J. K. Polk Cap^t Tyler & the invincible Henry Clay as candidates for the Presidency. go it Clay. Just whigs enough in camp to take the curse off, made 14 miles along a narrow Prairie ridge and found fine water in a little grove of Elms

23 Sunday

a Fine clear morning noticed a great many granite Boulders some of a Fine vermilion Tint verry compact & handsome scattered on a limestone Strata At 10 A.M. Struck the oregon trace on Cannon Ball Creek greate Joy at finding the trail and a good ford Crossed over without delay or difficulty except the breaking of an axeltree which was repaired in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour made 12 miles and encamped on a small Brook with a Plentifull scarcity of wood (made 12 miles) the country verry uneven and broken in an immence number and variety of conicle nolls all Beautyfully covered and clothed in grass But we found the ravine soft and deep & many Teams doubled over

24 Rolled out at sun rise and at 11 reached Burr oak creek a deep dirty stream about 10 rods wide all the Banks and bottoms having Been overflown found the date of Mr Gillhams [Cornelius Gilliam] company having crossed 4 days previous crossed over in 2 hours although we had to let down our wagons down a steep Slipery bank by hand to day struck our old trail made on our return from the mountains in 1827 when I had the honorable post of being pilot Some points look quite familiar allthough I never passed but once & that time nearly 17 years ago our evening camp in particular game is verry scarce but one deer having been killed made 14 mils

25th A thunder shower came on early & continued at entervals all night found Middle camp creek overflown and it still raining Rolled out at 1 oclock through the rain & went up the creek 2 or 3 miles to a shallow ford crossed over with out difficulty made 5 miles by the old trace & encamped on the Smoky fork or Blue fork (of Kansas) found two canoes left by those ahead

26 a dull Cloudy morning rolled up to the place of embarcation this stream is about 80 yards wide and has fine intervalle and prairie lands based on a fine white Limestone but timber is rather scarce Here we had an awfull time in crossing our Stock the Bot-toms and [word omitted] being so soft from the over flowings of watter that we had to Litterly drag our animals several rods to swiming water and again from it and in all probabillity the everlasting hill never since

the deluge experianaced such a superabundance of moisture particularly the immediate countery through which we have to pass got more than half our wagons over & cattle enough to drag our wagon to dry land about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant by hitching all to one wagon at a time

27 a thick foggy morning it rained yestarday which is so common that I neglected to mention it got all our camp over before night Mr Sublett & party arived on the oposite side Mr. Sublett's party consists of 20 men 11 of whom are Sick and traveling for health one of which died and was Buried this morning about 15 miles East of this Poor fellow Marshall by name his fair companion accompanied him from St Louis and tenderly watched over him to Indipendence whare thy seperated Kind companion her worst fears are realized her Husbands bones rest Quietly forever on the bluffs of oak creek whare no noise disturbs his rest but the carrol of summer wild birds and the nightly howl of the lonely wolf the day proved to be one unusualy fine

28th Left our encampment early which was in several respects the finest we have made consisting of a nice little grove of Hackberry & elm timber a beautifull Spring of cool clear water runing past well stored with goosberry shrubbery some of which we had for coffe Tea I cannot call it as we had none the rest was covered with an uneven ridge of Limestone rock on the east runs Blue river meandring throug a grove of Hickory walnut oak and cottonwood timber cap^d with fine conical green nolls and ridges to South lies the wally of Blue revir a fine prairie soile & handsom little Brooks passing through our rout to day lay north westwardly ovie rathe uneven Prairie ridge Beetwen the main Blue & the wesst fork of the sane made 16 miles & encamped on the east of the ridge

29 A Strong South wind all night with thunder Showers passing for once they mised us weather very warm & the road soft & heavy but fine Black rich soil Tried to Stand guard last night a good deal of grumblng & discontent amongst those that have horses & those that have none some not even wanting a camp guard our pilot Mr Harris. 22 years experianc and advice is perfectly useless in this age of improvement when human intelect not only strides but actually Jumps & flies into conclusions Traveled 16 miles over uneven prairie & circuitous crooked road Some miles migt be saved and a better track by following the main ridge 3 or 4 miles South of the wagon trail corssed rock Creek late and encamped on the W. side [of] it a rapid shower of rain fell in the afternoon & 4 or 5 Teams came up so late as not to cross the creek raised and at dark was swiming another heavy shower fell at day light (Sunday

30th The creek still rising and verry rapid this creek is branch of Little Blue or west fork of Blue river & affords some usefull Timber fine grass & good soil a verry warm day almost to suffication The trace we have been traveling follows neare the dividing ridge between the main Blue & the west fork and is the highest land in the country one or two teams that had been 2 days behind came up to day Laid still to day to await the falling of the creek that all the teams might get to gather our camp is on rather a sandy soil the first we have seen on upland since we passed the waukarusha

[MEMBERS OF THE TRAIN IN ACCOUNT WITH CLYMAN]

M. [M.] Warnbaugh [Wornbaugh] ⁸⁸	\$2.50
J. D. Perkey ⁸⁹	2.50
[Samuel and William] Packwoods [Packwood] ⁹⁰	6.00
Doty [N. R. Dougherty?]	2.50
Gillespie ⁹¹	2.50
Priest	2.50
[John R. and John H. P.] Jackson ⁹² & Co.	3.50
[Henry] Williamson ⁹³	2.50
[James] Hunt	2.50
W[illiam] Smith	10.00
Howard ⁸⁹	1.50
[Isaac N.] Gilbert ⁹⁴	2.50
Blakesly [Blakely] ⁹⁵	2.50
N[orris] Humphrey	1.00
Boyd ⁸⁹	1.00
J. L. Mulkey	3.50
N[athaniel] Ford ⁹⁶	11.00
Alf. Devenport ⁸⁹	2.50

⁸⁸ Came to California in 1846. Bancroft spells the name Warnsbough and Wambough. I take the above spelling from a letter of his in the *Oregon Spectator*, April 30, 1846, in which he announces to his creditors that he is about to leave for the "Spanish country" to "work in the redwoods."

⁸⁹ Not mentioned in the list of 1844 emigrants in the *Trans. Ore. Pioneer Assoc.* 1876, pp. 40-42.

⁹⁰ William Packwood moved into the Puget Sound country in 1847, settled on the Nisqually River, and is said to have been "the first *bona fide* American settler north of Olympia." He was a member of the constitutional convention in 1857.

⁹¹ Perhaps the John Gillespie killed by Indians on the Rogue River, Oct., 1855.

⁹² John R. Jackson was one of the first settlers in the Puget Sound country. John H. P. may have been the Jackson who went to California with the Stephens-Murphy party.

⁹³ Williamson and Alderman attempted to squat on Hudson Bay Company territory within a half-mile of Fort Vancouver. The controversy over their rights became a famous one involving a practical interpretation of British-American joint occupancy. Williamson is said to have come to California during the gold rush. Alderman was murdered at Fort Sutter in 1848.

⁹⁴ Made first plat of the town of Salem, Oregon. He is probably the same Gilbert to whom Clyman entrusted the letters for Spaulding and Whitman.

⁹⁵ Mentioned as a captain in the war with the Rogue River Indians in 1856.

⁹⁶ Elected Supreme Judge at Champoege convention, April 1845; declined and Burnett succeeded him; elected county treasurer June, 1847; state senator, 1866-68; held other offices; died in Dixie Polk County, Oregon, Jan. 9, 1870.

Rolin ⁸⁹	5.00
Cordel ⁸⁹	4.00
[James] Harper	1.50
W. L. Black ⁸⁹	2.50
Eli Perkins ⁸⁹	3.50
Joel Perkins ⁹⁷	2.50
John Perkins	3.50
James Johnson ⁹⁸	3.50
Daniel Johnson	3.50
R[uel] Olas [Owless]	3.50
P[oe] Williams	2.50
W ^m Clark ⁸⁹	2.50
B[arton B.] Lee ⁹⁹	3.50
J[ames] Welch ¹⁰⁰	3.50
M. R. Perin ⁸⁹	2.50
W ^m Weer	2.50
Noyes Smith	2.50
Steebens	3.50
Joel Chrisman [Crisman] ¹⁰¹	3.50
[Isaac W.] Alderman ⁹³	2.50
Neals & Co.	5.00
Barnett	2.00
Evans ⁸⁹	3 50
Mr.	2 50
McMahan	1 00
Big Kaw ⁸⁹ [the interpreter?]	2 00
Goff ¹⁰²	2 50

June the 25th 1844

Expences incurred in getting lost Horses

J Clyman paid Chief	\$2 50
Young Indian	2 50
Ferriage	2 00
	<hr/>
	7 00
B[enjamin] M. Robinson paid	
Form Clyman	\$5.00
Own Cash	3 12 ½
Morin "	2 00
Clyman again	1 25
	<hr/>
	11.50
L Morin ⁸⁹ paid	
on various occasions	11.75
	<hr/>
	30.25

⁹⁷ There were two of these, father and son, one founded the town of Lafayette, Oregon, in the early '50's.

⁹⁸ Brought the first flax-seed to Oregon. Homespun linen was manufactured from the crop in 1845.

⁹⁹ A member of the Oregon legislature in 1845. Came to California during the gold rush.

¹⁰⁰ Located a claim at "Shively's Astoria," in 1846.

¹⁰¹ The head of Clyman's mess. He was a Virginian, and died in Yamhill County, Oregon, in 1875.

¹⁰² There were at least three Goffs with the 1844 train, David, Samuel and Marion. David guided the J. Quinn Thornton party over the Applegate road in 1846.

[BOOK 2]

[Cover]
July 1, 1844*[Little Blue River to Red Buttes near the mouth of the Sweetwater,
July 1 to August 14]*Oregon Emigrants Camp
Rock creek July the 1st 1844

The above named rock creek seems to be almost arbitrary there being but one rock seen & that one a loose boulder but Lying right in the middle of the ford the sun rose nearly clear while the grumbling thunder was heard to the South the road very heavy and several wagons stuck in the low grounds & raviens small groves of Timber seen either to the right or left some sand Shews itself in the trail to day which is hailed with delight as being our Saviour from mud in which we have ate drank Traveled slept and breathed continually ever since we left the settlements & about 2 weeks previous made 13 miles & encamped on dry sandy ridge near Cotton creek which runs S. Westwardly into the west fork or little blue

2 A thick foggy morning walked about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile back on the trail to see a mountain of Petrifications this mound is 150 or 200 feet above the level of the small streams passing to the south of it & is formed [of] grey lime rock near the top which rock is intirely composed of shells & other manrine matter greate portions of it is broken up very fine near the surface every fragment of which shews a shell of various sices and shapes & at least a dozen differant kinds another Shower of rain fell this morning rode out saw deep ravine washed out of marly lime stone about 8 feet deep which was intirely composed of Shells in a solid compact form remained in camp to day on account of high water the afternoon clear & fine

3 Foggy cool with an East wind Cottonwood creek fell four or five feet Last night many of the small Brooks in the Neighbourhood completely choked up with slides of earth from the contiguous Bluff the Bluffs & banks formed of round wased gravel & Shell rock Based on a strong clay bed 10 A.M. a Shower of rain Turned out to Bridg the creek but returned to await its falling Mr. Subletts again came up having buried one more of his invalids Mr. Ketchup by name three days since at his camp called by him Ketchums grave 10 miles West of Blue river Mr Ketchum was [a] yong man his Brother came with him and attended him to his grave in this greate wilderness of Prairie which streches in all most all directions beyond the field of vision

4th of July the sun rose in pale misty magesty and was salutd by Several guns forom thoes owt on the morning watch Soon after the Stars & Stripes floted in the Breeze the american Jubilee was but little further noticed than that the star Spangled Banner floated from Esq^r Rolands¹⁰³ waggon throughout the day crossed cotton wood and left Fossil Bluffs with all their once numerous animated family and made 12 miles crossed Sandy a Broad Shallow Stream with sand barrs and Isleands running nearly S. W. into west fork or little Blue our rout to day was near the ridge dividing Cottonwood and West fork and was dryer and firmer than any 12 miles previously traveled over allthoug the rains have been frequent and rapid

5th A verry warm Night & a warm morning the Musketoos troublesome Several persons compaining of the Rhumatism & Dyentery it thundred and Lightned all night allthough it did not rain made 14 miles over uneven Prairie crossed 4 shallwo sandy Brooks all Tributary^s of west fork & encamped on the last mentioned stream which stream is about 40 yards wide and runs rapidly over a Sandy bed course From N W. to S E. large intervalles as much as 3 miles wide no timber except cottonwood and willows The wind from the S & air extremely warm at about 5 P.M. the wind suddenly shifted to the N & it insantly became cooll enough to want our coats saw severall antelop to day & for the first [time] & some of the men killed one of them

6th A fine cool morning the wind from North for the first time since we left the Settlement a cool N.E. wind all day made 17 miles up the W. Fork mostly on the interval encamped on a low bottom a Tremendious thunder shower came up before sundown which lasted untill 9 oclock two or 3 dozen of fine catfish was caught & in fact all the tributaries of the Kansas seem well stored with that Species of fish and have been easily taken when ever the water has been low enough to permit us to approach the main Banks of the streams which however has been seldom Mr Subletts party passed us to day and we are now in the rear of all the different parties traveling over the western praries passed some fine Bottom lands to day but little timber and that not valuable the wolves howled vehemently around us last night

7th Sunday the creek bank full this morning wind N.E. a thick drizzely morning the road laid out from the creek at the heads of the ravines about 12 The sun broke through the misty clouds & we stoped to water & graze on the reshes which have been plenty in

¹⁰³ Perhaps Levi L. Rowland, later Superintendent of Public Instruction in Oregon.

patches for several days horses & cattle feed on them voraciously 2 miles Brod us up to Mr Sublett party of invalids whane they had Just finished intering Mr Browning who left this troublesome world last night at 11 oClock the season has been the worst possible for Sick persons generally allthoug the 3 or 4 consumptives travelling with us are mending slowly made 16 miles to day the afternoon near the creek which has diminished since we first came on its banks saw some Beaver cutting for the first observed the earth is becoming much firmer notwithstanding the rains.

8th Another Foggy morning we are beginning to camp in Tolerable order running the wagons on a level piece of ground and forming a Square round or oblong Krale the tents Pitched on the outside the fires still on the outside of the tents and the guard outside of all the horses & other valuables in the Koral a little afternoon passed the great Pawnee Lodge trail leading South came near Splitting camp there being Several trails and as many nominal pilots but all but one wagon came up to camp in the evening the Bluffs and ravines shew a geat flood at some time more vilent than any I ever observed in the states made 18 miles and encamped on a brook Tributary to the West fork nothing but willows for fire wood But we are told that we need not expect any better verry soon our course to day South of West

9 It thundred & Ligtnd all night & Several Showers of rain fell during the night the morning fair several patches of Short Buffaloe grass made its appearance about our camp made 10 miles N.W. over deep cut ravines in a loose soft clay intermixed with fine sand encamped on the bluffs of a small Brook Lying deep below the surrounding level of the country wood and water scarce & difficult to approach Several Teams remained at last encampment to await the appearance of a young emigrant who came on & overtook us at 5 oclock P.M. in riding this forenoon a Short distance south of the trail we fell in a deep vally amid the bare clay Bluffs which realized allmost all the fabled scent of the much Fabled Spice groves [of] arabia or India for more than 2 miles the odours of the wild rose & many other oderiferous herbs scented the whole atmosphere But the groves ware wanting nothing but gnarled cotton woods were seen

10 A Light Shower of rain fell about Sun rise roled out across the devide between the head of Kanzas & the great Platt and from the eye I should Judge that the main platte is as high or higher than the Kanzas near our last nights encampment a narrow row of low sand hills running paralel with and not more than 6 or 8 miles from the platte being the only deviding ridge. all the water South of the sand hills

runing into the Kanzas and none at all runnin into the platte this last named stream being the most muddy & in fact a grate deal more muddy than the Missourie itself the father of mud made 17 miles & encamped on the Platt near the middle of the grand Isleand the country as far as the eye can reach is as level as a pond except the low sand hills before mentioned

11th A cool Pleasant morning no wood but a few dry willows and Quite small made 18 miles up the south side of the River over a level Prarie no timber except a few cotton wood Trees & them all confined to the Islands in the river which are numerous but generally small the Prairie ponds are wellls[t]ored with wild ducks [these] with a few antelope constuite all the game yet seen & but feew of them precured a rapid shower of rain about sun down This river Platt has a channel not much less than three miles wide and the intervale from Bluff to Bluff as much as 12 miles wide the bank from 2 to 4 feet high above the water whare it is 4 feet high it is remarkable dry and hard formed of a fine pale tenacious clay and fine dead sand remarkabel hard and smoothe

12th A clear morning and a fine day but verry warm the same Level country the want of wood and water except the river and the long grass on the lowlands made 20 miles and encamped near some low willow Islands from which we obtained dry willows sufficiant to make fire for the night Several antelope ware killed to day and a number of wild ducks seen— had a fair view of our camp traveling as seen from the Bluffs about a mile distant they made Quite a picturesque [appearance] First came a few stragling foot & horse men ahead & on the left flank the right being on the river next a thick squad of horsmen in front followeed by a long string of white looking wagon covers flanked with gentlemen & Ladies occasionally in the rear a long string of Loose cattle horses and mules the tout assemble being rather uneque

13 A Fair day started early & made about 20 miles over a level Planies & a heard smoothe road To day the sand hill which have lain to our left disappeared and ware succeeded by dry clay Bluff cut into deep narrow ravenis which do not reach far back into the (the) country as no streame that brings any running water has yet been seen the high level country South of the ravines are Beautifull Beyond discription handsomely roling and thickly set with fine Buffalo grass and Blue stem almost as soft as a bed and luxuriously covered with wild sun flowers and several other speses of yallow Blossoms which are now in full Bloom and plsent the air to a considerable distance with a verry fine perfume as plasant as a flower garden

Sunday

14th It rained a light Shower last night & a thick cloudy morning Mr Hinman¹⁰⁴ who [went] south into the Bluffs to shoot antelope did not return turned [out the] men this morning to hunt for him no place in the world looks more lonesome and discouraging than the wide Prairies of this region neither tree bush shrub rock nor water to cherish or shelter him and such a perfect sameness with a alusive ridge all around you meeting the Horozon in all directions you Suppose your course to lie over some one of those horizontal ridges when after several hours anxious fatigue you suppose you are about to assend the highest pinnacle and some Known Land mark what is your diapointmint to find ridge rise beyond ridge to the utmost extant of human vision

15 Rol^d. out unusually early found the road quite sloppy The weather close and warm and the mosquitoes thicker than I ever saw in any place to continue for a whole day as they (as they) did here until dark when they eased off & we had a fair nights rest the course of the river nearly due west [down] the valy [to] the extensive level plain Timber still more scarce and for miles nothing seen but now and then a Junt of shrubby Cottonwood or a dwarf willow made 20 miles recent Tracks of Buffaloe seen in Quanties but the animal himself Kept out of Sight rode out south onto the Bluffs and saw an undiscribeable country of hills Bluffs and deep cut ravines through a pale yallow clay soil some of which are 100 feet perpendicular the great reservoirs of mud which lie here in reserve for the next rain

16 A clear morning all though it thundred and Lighned in all directions Throughout the night all the companis of Oregon Emigrants mountaineers & californians &c &c ahead of us had had buffaloe for several days & being anxious my self to get amess I laid my couse S.W. over the cut Bluffs nearly perpendicular and passed main rang[e] the country became more regual and level found the Buffalo in great Quantities Killed one verry fine one loaded my mule and started for camp had hard riding to pass the cut Bluffs & obtain the open plain through which the river passes before sundown But here commenced our Toils the camp having made 18 miles at 12 of which we had to ride after night the moketoes with uncommon Blood thirsty appetite commenced & ware Litterly so thick that with all our exertions we could hardly breath

¹⁰⁴ Alanson Hinman's reminiscences were published in the *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 2, 1901. He traveled in Ford's party until it reached the present site of Baker City, when under the guidance of Black Harris he went to the Whitman mission at Waiilatpu for supplies. Later he entered Whitman's employ and was put in charge of the mission station at The Dalles.

17 La[s]t night we passed Mr Gilhams company & they repassed us again in this morning we have now arived at the dry & thirsty clay soil which is always hard or if soft melts & runs with the water so thick that you can not see a particle of the whitest matter the $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch below its surface Made 12 miles & passed the Junction of the S & N Branchs of Platte which Junction is in a verry low wet country & only a feu inches above the surfac of the water Several Hunters ware out to day all returned Brot Quantities of meat some verry fine & all good I am sorry to Say that I was mistaken about the Hunters all returning 4 men did not return and great anxiety is [felt] on account of them 3 with families & 2 of the women driving the Teams for 2 days past arived at our supposed ford and making preperations to cross over

18 It rained a light shower last night after which the (the) wind changed to the N. & we had afine coll night & a pleasant fair morning. Cooked our Supper last night with Buffaloe dung called chips in a modest way Such an article as wood (being) not being found 18 [miles]

Crossed the S. Fork of the Platte river without the least difficulty over a loose sandy shallow ford and encamped on the smoothe level Prairie about 2 miles form our last nights encampment the bluffs in the contigous contry in many Places shew a fine loose limestone which gives it a white appearanc at a distance Soil dry and hard bearing the fine Buffaloe grass but no timber had a pleasant cool day for July the [valley] narrowed down to about 4 or 5 miles in width but level as heretofore

19 A cool clear morning all it Thundred and Lightned in several Directions last night our 4 lost hunters returned after wandring 3 days & 2 nights over the boundless Prairies and allthough the summer is far advanced our prosspects wore a bette[r] face for crossing the mountains before winter made 5 miles and encamped on accoun of one of the Ladies being to sick to travel Rode out on the hills deviding the N. & S. Forks (which in appearance are nearly the same vollume of water) Found the ridges dry & hard composed mostly of rounded granite gravel undelaid with strato of soft marly Limestone several male Buffaloe ware see[n] from camp and one large herd containing Several hundreds on the opposite Side of the river nothing in the character of a spring or Brook of running water has been seen since we came on the platte

20 A Beautifull (clear) clear cool morning the finest we have yet seen a Light west wind and clear atmophere imence hears of Buffalo seen from the hills near camp on the plains Beyond the river

4 days since we overtook Mr Gilhams company of Oregon Emigrants & yesterday an arrangement was entered into for the traveling in the neare vicinity of each other & encamping no further apart than necessary for the good of our stock so that our entire company makes 96 Teams wagons & occupies with loose stock & all more than two miles of tolerable close collumn 16 [miles]

no preceveable alteration in soil or river or apeareance of country except the uplands are dryer & harder & on the Bottoms a fair appeareance of salt mixed with several other mineral substances

Sunday

21 A Slight Shower of rain fell about sundown yestarday evening & several others during the night a clear morning cole & pleasant made 14 miles up the N. Side of the S. Fork of Platte over dry Prairie intervales as fine a road as any in the union or even the world great Quntitees of Buffaloe seen a few miles from the trail but verry few imediately on the rout owing to several small companies of malcontents going ahead and driveing them away But our Hunters have been able to keep our camp well supplied with the finest kind all Ladies Gentleme[n] Children and all with the greatest unanimity agree that this is the finest richest sweetest living of any they have ever experienced and all hope that they may last far long & broad without stint or diminution

22 a warm evening last and a warm morning this the mosquitoes verry troublesome the first time we have been much troubled in camp although they cover a single individual horse and all in a few minuits of evenings & mornings for the last 10 days if he happen to be out alone Quantities of Buffalo in sight all day to day made 7 miles to the point whare we leave the S. Fork & cross over the ridge to the N. Fork a verry warm day without scarcely a breath of air to keep down the flies & Moketoos country the same except that their has been a Tremendious Shower rain not long since which has flooded all the ravines & given life & vigor to all Fly & Moketoe tribe & the warm weather has given them keen appetites.

23 Contrary to all the k[n]own rules of Traveling in this country a number of horses & mules run loose last night & Likewise acording to a well known Phraze 15 or 20 came up missing this morning a fine cool day for crossing the interminable Prairies rolled out early nearly a north course found by good luck and unexpectedly several ponds of water about noon Likewise passed an extensive prairie dog village containing 3 or 400 acres of Land thickly settled with an active population living remote from every thing but grass & weeds which constitutes their entire subsistance made 22 miles & encamped at

dark on (on) the South bank of the N Fork in excelent grazing which is very extensive the intervalles being 6 or 8 miles wide not a stick of Standing timber in sight in any direction The Bluff down the river formed of Lime stone

24 The coolest morning we have experianced with a brisk N wind all pleasan & animated on account of our late good roads & rapid traviling did not travel to day an odd Butle of washing shaveing cleaning & repairing it being the first since the 4th when we left Fossil Bluffs to the east risis steep Limes[t]one cliffs all most perpendicular near 100 feet high worn into all manner of Shapes by the action of the wind This stream is a Counterpart of Stream we left at our last encampment Except that it is not so muddy being more than a mile in width generally shallow & running rapidly over loose floating sand no place more than 5 feet deep Quantities of Saline Substances making their appearance on the surface in Evenings of clear days the opposite side of the river shew high rounded sand hills

25th Fair with a light east wind and plesanly cool moved of at an Early hour Singular as it may seem this Stream like the last has no tributarys falling into it from either side the Loup or wolf fork falling in below drains all the immense Sand plains N. to the Shianne which is the first stream nothe that takes its waters from the highlands or mountains made about 18 miles partly loose Sand & partly a Tenacious light coloured clay very fine & close & in places white as pipe clay the Limestone ledge nearly dissap[ear]ed Toward evening and was succeeded with clay and Sand bluffs but not near so high in the evening passed the Broad channel of a brook with a little shallow water rippling over the sand the first water we have seen running into the Main Platt or its Branches since we struck that river no Buffalo seen on the N Fork

26 A light shower of rain fell about dusk last night a clear warm morning Pased one mud hole the first on the Platte made 17 miles over the usual level Prairie one or 2 Shrubby hackberry trees seen through the day and passed some scattering clumps of pine to the South of our track theat at the distance shew rough uneven and rocky the Bluffs shew close to the water on the oposite side of the river in many places the day clar and warm throughout and the evening Remarkably light and pleasant with a bright moon the (the) chimney rock was said to be visable but I did not see it allthough I watched close No Buffaloe seen since we left the S Fork

27th A clear cool morning the Ladies pleasant animated and in fine Spirits which make a fine contrer part to the morning Early we came in sight of the noted chimney rock at the supposed distance of 30

miles it rises perpendicular and alone and looked like an old dry stub not larger in appearance than your finger 4 or 5 miles from our noon-ing raises a bank of clay & rock having all the appearanc of some old castle of circular shape the spire having been Blown down the main walls and dome roof in a good state of preservation and still shewing the even range work of rubble rock of which the structure was formed made 20 miles over the level intirmenable Prairie But not so tiresome as their was Quite a variety in sight the chimney rock changed its appearance & Shewed like a large conicle fort with a Tremendeous large & high flag staff & top taken off with out towers and (&) various fixtures of defence

28 Sunday Fine and dry not a drop of dew fell last night which circumstance is not uncommon in the region of country we are now approaching all our sick of old cronic disorder begin to ware a healthy appearance & active elastick movement nooned opposite the chimny rock Scotts Bluffs in full vieu ahead on the whole the vieu in all directions Singualr and Picturesque emmence level plains east the river a mile wide meandring along but your eye can not tell at a short distance which way the water runs the chimny rock with rugged Bluff from which it has sometimme or other been parted south Scotts Bluffs like a walled and fortified city with immenc out works west a ruged chain of Spercely pine timbred hill in the back ground the river a broad vally & a distant chain of Barren hills to the North made 22 miles

29 My Page being entirely full yestarday I had not room to say That A light shower of rain fell in the afternoon which collected & commenced falling not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile ahead of our camp Keen claps of thunder with a profusion of Electrick fluid playin in all directions in a dry clear sky set the dry grass on fire in several places in sight of our traveling caravan which was soon Extinguished by the rain Just mentioned Left the River and struck S. of W. 14 miles and encamped in the midtst of Scotts blufs By a cool spring in a romantic & pictur-isque vally surrounded except to the E. by high & allmost impassably steep clay cliffs of all immagenary shapes & forms supped on a most dlecious piece of venison from the loin of a fat Black tailed Buck and I must not omit to mention that I took my rifle and (and) walked out in the deep ravin to guard a Beautifull covey of young Ladies & misses while they gathered wild currants & choke chirries which grow in great perfusion in this region and of the finerst kind

30 Roled out over the last ridge of Scotts Bluffs which is a ridge or connetion of highland commencing on the river & running Southwardly as far as visably rising in many places from 600 to 1000 feet high

formed of clay & a verry fine dead sand & occasionally a thin layer of Soft Limestone which last mentioned layers protects the Softer parts from the ravages of Storms of wind & rain The whole range appears to have been once the common level of the country but owing to solible Qualities of the earth the main Bulk now forming the low grounds have been carried away with the water which opperation is still in active opperation these hills are finely stored with game Such as Black tailed deer antelope mountain Sheep & some times Buffaloe Elk & grisled Bear I must not omit to mention a singularity on a vally we pased yestarday which was covered in all parts with Quantities of dry logs & wood the only reasonable conjecture with me was that the vally some 10 or 12 miles in [l]ength & 8 or 10 wide has no channel for the discharge of the water from the surrounding hills [which]occasionally in winter become deeply frozen considerable snow falling which goes off with a sudden thaw all the mountain torrents come rapidly down charged with drift the water filling the wally diposits its drift on the Shores & Islans of the newly formed lake which soon finds a passage through the sandy soil on which it rests we had a destinct & clear but distant view of the Black hills from the hights this morning made 14 miles & encamped on the river crossed horse creek about noon

31 A fine clear cool morning a dry camp clear cool water and fine grazing the moon Shone clear as day allmost during the whole nigth about one third of our company remaind to recruit their lame Stock the Prairies ware on fire in Several directions last night and all the uplands look dry and parched made 14 miles over dry & verry dusty road We have been following A recent lodge Trail of moveing Indians for some days But have not been able to overtake them several persons went ahead to day to await us at the fort supposed to not be more than 20 or 30 miles considerable Quantities of cottonwood made it[s] appearance on Bottoms & islands to day as Likewise drift pine along the Shores Several flocks of wild [fowl] seen to day on the dry bars of the river the mountains do not change their appearance

Thursday the 1st of August Dry clear warm day cool Beautifully fine nights with Scarcely any dew or moisture to dampen a blanket of those that sleep out in the open air Soil a fine whiteish clay mixed with sand usually verry fine but sometimes moderately coarse about 4 oclock in the afternoon we hove in sight of the white Battlments of Fort Larrimie and Fort Platte whose white walls surrounded by a few Sioux Indian Lodges shewed us that Human life was not extinct this being the first we have seen since we left the Kaws the various Emigrants Excepted crossed the Larrimie river a clear fine Streean about

80 yards wide only about half of the channel filled with water 2 feet deep Several persons getting scant of Flour Some to be had here (at) Superfine at 40 dollars a barrel Spannish at 30

2nd Clear cool nights & mornings verry warm days Remained in camp to day trading and waiting for Blacksmith and other repairs went down to the fort after writeing to my Friend Starr of the Milwaukee Sentinell and found no prospect of his recieving my communication verry soon but I left the letter hoping that he m[a]y recieve it Soon¹⁰⁵ I tried to trade some but found even the products of the country verry high I purchased a dressed deer skin for 2.50 cents and returned to camp satisfied that money was allmost useless while all kinds of grocerys & Liquors were exorbitantly high for instance sugar 1.50 cents per pint or cupfull and other things in proportion Flour Superfine 1.00 dollars per pint or 40 dollars per Barrel Spannish 30 no dried Buffaloe meat could be had at any price so our stores of provision did not increase

3 Roled out over the parched hills and soon lost singht of the white washed mud walls of Fort Larrimie & her twin Sister fort Piearre made 12 miles over the dry parched hills which make a verry Singular appearance dotted all over with Shrubby Junts of dark looking Pine and cedars rooted in the white dry weather worn Lime rock which in many places shews like chalk banks & appears to be formed of Strong white marly clay dried by the sun and formed into rough Solid masses of rock without much form or regular Stratification and affording but feew Springs and no brooks as the water rises and Sinks occasionally along their gravelly beds encamped by one of those Springs which is a fine Strong rapid Spring but disappears in less than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile amongst hight white rocky cliffs which Surround us in all directions

4 Sunday it thundred and Lightned consideraby about dusk & rained a few drops but the sun rose in beautfull majesty over her parched cliffs this morning as it rains but little in this region Made 8 miles over the same Kind of dry hard thirsty country as yestarday and encamped on the dry sand barr of Sandy creek a little rill of warm muddy mean tasted water was all that dignified this broad channel of more than 100 yards broad crossed over the Bluffs & hills with our guns after camping to the river which here runs through a deep cut channel of Solid Lime stone more than 1000 feet deep 7 or 800 of which is perpendicular and not more at the top than 3000 feet wide coming up from the south with allmost level Prarie I neglected to mention that the Junction of Platte & Larrimie is immediately below the back hills

¹⁰⁵ This letter has not been found in the Milwaukee papers.

Both issuing from deep cut rocks a Short distance above through which they pass for more than 40 miles with a few intervening small vallies or open spaces

5 Shortly after dark there came on a thunder Shower with such a Squall of wind that almost all our Tents were fluttering on the ground in a moment the large cold drops of rain pelting us furiously all over & not even sparing the delicate Ladies & small children which ran helter skelter in all directions seeking for shelter from the storm which was of Short duration Passed up our Shallow stream west & soon came to a beautiful running brook with a fine interval well clothed with timber & much the handsomest place we have yet seen well clothed with green vegetation & is one of the green spots so seldom seen in this arid scorched region but this beautiful vally did not last long for after passing about 6 miles up we left it & turned up north along a dry sandy bed of what is sometimes a brook and ascended up it to its extreme eastern head where we ascended a beautiful smooth rolling ridge covered with scattering pines from which we had the finest view which can be had in this romantick country the immediate country dry & beautifully smooth & rolling into Knobbs to the south a distant & extensive view of apparently smooth level prairie turning your head to S. W. & W. an extensive view of the roughest & most ragged mountain in all this rough region mellowed down by the distance into smooth sharp pinecles with others rising in the back ground to a great height turning to the north a large uneven vally makes its appearance filled with finely rounded ridges & butes intermingled with vallies to the utmost reach of vision turning to the East is perhaps the most singular of all you have an extensive view of the great Kenyon Through which the river passes and in the distance is a crowded view of rounded butes & would resemble the large assemblage of Arabian lodges that ever encamped together and of nearly all the shades of colour from red to white & occasionally black being covered with the tufted pine and cedar all handsomely exhibited in light & shade by a clear afternoon Sun made 20 miles the last 4 or 5 rather rough & heavy on account of the deep sand at our camp on horse shoe creek we overtook all the different companies of emigrants except Hitchcocks¹⁰⁶ and encamped in a jumbled mass of Stock tents people &c &c

6 Turned out early from our camp on Wagon Hound creek* and had Some Steep pitches to raise before we got clear of the creek then

¹⁰⁶ Hitchcock was one of the leaders of the Stephens-Murphy party, bound for California. Bancroft says he had possibly been a member of the Walker party in 1833.

*In the MS. a line is drawn through the words *Wagon Hound creek*.

some fine rolling country was passed with several brooks of clear water several miles of desert brot us into the vally of wagon hound creek where we encamped for the night haveing made 15 miles in this vally we saw Quantities of Buffaloe but few of them were taken owing to the lateness of the day when we arived & the number of hunters out which drove them from one another which is envariably the case when agreat number of anxious men turn out (out) to hunt after any discription of game the mountains discribed yesterday are of a light grey granit & are the frst seen on our assent from the vally Below Scotts bluff as before mentioned

7 Clear as usual in this region of (of) allmost cloudless Skies moved out of our dry grassless camp crossed clear fine little Brook at the distance of 5 miles on both sides of which the utmost confusion exists vitrified earth clay & rock of several kinds in banks hills Knobs mounds piles & mountains ly & stand in all angles from horizontal to perpendicular but mostly in an angle from 20 to 45 all seem to have been hove up from the N. E. for that is the Slanting direction & the S. W. being nearly perpendicular—and the ranges running frorom N. W. to S.E. formed of grey granit red Sandstone blue lime stone clay red as brick and some black looking Substance resembling decomposed Slate or Something blackned by fire made 14 miles & encamped near a fine spring our camp once again largely supplied with Buffaloe beef

8 The same as yestarday a clear Bright sun & cloudless atmosphere on the road again passed a number of Beautifull little clear Brooks cool & remarkable sweet comeing out of the grey granite mountain lying only a few miles to the South of our rout & in many places the strata rises nearly perpendicular & allway at (at) least 40 degrees with the Horizon Made 17 miles and encamped on a fine little stream almost in sight of N Fork of the Platte in the vally of which Stream we have been traveling ever since leaving Larremie but seldom in sight our encampment is the best for stock we have yet seen since passing the Forks and a number of Scaffolds are arected well covered and smoking with fine Buffalo Beef to dry for the road as well as the Board which is finely stored for supper with the choisest Kind

9 the same Beautifull clear Sky concluded to remain in our prsent position on Boxwood creek which is thickly set with that kind of Timber well Stored with current and choke cherries & a number of Large grissly Bears to feed on them as is pleny seen by their numerous pathes through the brush the Bear feeds on all kinds of fruit but the red willow berry which is extremely Bitter seems to be their favourite food all hands busied in preparing and drying the finest kind of Buffaloe Beef as we are fearfull that they will not be many on the road

ahead walked up to the mountain about 4 miles distant found the top ledges 4 or 500 feet high composed of a whitish grey granite then a strata of rough red sandstone 5 or 200 feet thick based on blue & red Lime stone intermixed with red vitrified clay the water of the brook running over loose rock of all the above descriptions

10 Moved off from our encampment on Boxwood & crossed over about 5 miles to the river crossed Several small Brooks and dined on deer creek made 15 miles and encamped on the river Same hard granite gravelly rounded hills the mountains keeping close on our left and (and) running parallel to our route along the river the weather fine as usual the uplands dry and parched

The mountains lying to our left are not very high perhaps not more than 3 or 4000 feet above the valley of the river but they are extremely rugged and Steep the(y) rocks standing in many places nearly in perpendicular strata the range is narrow an uneven valley lying beyond then another parallel range Beyond which is an elevated table land destitute of Timber & Tolerable Smooth Turfed

11 Sunday a Beautiful morning Rode on up the river crossed several fine Brook considerable timber or Junco rather of cottonwood the Bottoms covered with dry fallen Timber which in this region never decays but wears away in slow degrees by the weather the Buffalo very fat and excellent eating and still found in great abundance made 18 miles and encamped on the river grass scarce and nearly dry even on the most moist Situations & we begin to find our delay on Kaw river was a great detriment to our traveling here bringing us through this dry region in warmest and driest part of the Season our Stock begins to look bad and lose their activity and yet we have not arrived at the worst part of our long tiresome Journey our own subsistence does not look so precarious as the forage for our stock our horses in particular

12 Moved up the river 4 miles to the place where we leave the river and cross over the red Butte mountain and encamped a few miles below the lower Kenyon the cliffs on this Kenyon are for more than half way up of a fine deep brick red apparently of burned Slate and a marly clay lime—

13 Made an early start and raised the rounded dry hills of the Red Butte mountain which falls off to moderate hills without timber to the north of our route but rises again on the head of the South Branches of the Big Horn and Tongue and Powder rivers this range I could not understand was heretofore named or laid down on any map of this country the tops of these hills are fine sand and clay lower down a rough sand stone Based on a whitish coloured Slate which with a little

change from Black to red makes the lowermost Strata or bed to be seen and in many places stands edgeways or in perpendicular form made 12 miles of crooked woorming Travel and encamped in a small vally a dry Brook a Brackish [spring] rising near (near) it(s) Buffaloe chips wild Sage and Prairie thorn forming our Stock of wood 4 miles to the South resis The Red Bute which give name to the awfull Kenyon both above & below the Bute on Standing on the cliffs near the edge of the Poicipice you see the river both above & below on two bends of the river which is much narrower at top than at the water the continual waring Below haveing fully doubled its once width through the solid granite & its perpendicular depth being over 1000 feet the stream looking not larger than your finger seemed to be at an angle of 40 at least and clear under your feet.

14 Left our encampment early and again took to the rising hills which we nearly topped in about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours from which we had a distinct view of Wind river mountain standing in bold ragged cliffs directly ahead and about a N.W. course a few rods to the left of the road breakes up a fine oil spring from in under a rounded Knoll of whiteish Slate & appears to be much frequented by the Buffaloe & other animals numerous ledges of different kinds of rock all standing edgewise and nearly perpendicular one in particular of white Sand Stone which extended to the utmost reach of vision in a narrow Straight line nearly north over ridge and hollow now rising then sinking from 3 to 20 feet in hight no discription of mine will give any adequate idea of the Barren dry Sterility of the dry land of this region Made 20 miles & encamped without grass but had fine water and plenty of good dry wood our rout to day was verry crooked & 6 or 8 miles might be Saved by taking a more Southern route

[Some calculations on the inside of the back cover seem to indicate that during the preceding twenty-seven days the average rate traveled was fourteen miles per day.]

[BOOK 3]

[Cover]

Aug 15, 1844

[Inside front cover]

Augt 18th 1844.

Augt. 26.

Sept 4

J. Clyman

J. Clyman

[Red Buttes to the Blue Mountains, August 15 to September 30]

August the 15th 1844

Left our contracted encampment at willow Spring near the top of the Red Bute mountain & in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour reachd the top of the ridge had a fair view of the east end of the wind river mountain the numerous rough granite peaks on Sweet water & those around Indipindance rock But it soon became So smokey that our fine viws were intirely obscured the ridges vallys hallows & all (all) the whole region near our rout these last two days have been the (the) most Sterile Barren land imaginable haveing but little vegetation except the wild sage and that not more than Six or (or) eight inches high curled down & level & stiff makeing a good seat Soil granite gravel & sand intermingled with rounded granite Boulders some of considerable size Made 16 miles and encamped on Sweet water $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile below the rock indipendence

16 Moved on up the creek saw the notable rock Independance with the names of its numerous visitors most of which are nearly obliterated by the weather & ravages of time amongst which I observed the names of two of my old friends the notable mountaneers Tho^s. Fitzpatrick & W. L. Sublette as likewise one of our noblest politicians Henry Clay coupled in division with that of Martin Van Buren a few miles furthe[r] up the creek passes through the South point of a most rugged & solid looking granite rock by a verry narrow pass after passing which we entered a valy Surounded by low rugged mountains except to the West whare a defiel Shews itself the lower vally of this creek is well clothed with short grass the upper with sand & sage the mountains with short scattering pines but in many places nothing but the bear rock in large steep Surfaces made 8 miles & encamped for the night on a good plat of grass

17 Smokey But the sun rose over the Eastern mountains in its usual majesty Some recent Signs of a war party of Indians were discovred yestarddy which caused some uneasiness but verry little more caution roled up the Stream on the South side arang[e] of the most rugged bare granite rocks lay along the North side close to the

water & a range of Blue mountains to the S. at the distance of 6 or 8 miles the sides bear the tops pretty well clothed with pine Timber

saw some fine herds of Ibex or wild sheep some of which were taken and (&) found to be verry fine eating saw great flocks of young wild ducks many of which were unable to fly not having their wing feathers stiff enough

This region seems to be the refuses of the world thrown up in the utmost confusion rocks without strata forming mountains others standing in perpendicular strata made 13 miles & encamped

Sunday

18 Left our encampment near the granite rocks and moved up the creek & passed several points of the same range of cliffs untill we entered a close Kenyon the cliffs nearly approching the water from either side giving bearily room for the teams to pass which opened out into a fine wally at the distance of a few miles above up which we passed and encamped 14 miles from our last camp the grass had been pastur^d verry close by the Buffalou all through the rout up this creek and we found them in greate abundance near our encampment a slight Shower of rain fell after which the wind blew quite cool for august which in fact has been the case for several nights allthough the days for several hours near noon was verry warm

19 Left the creek immediately after starting and laid our course south of west and allmost directly from the creek which course we traveled most of the day over a barren tract of country nothing escaping the appetite of the Buffaloe except the wild sage which is left for the antelope & mountain grouse the only animals known to feed on such bitter herbage the Barren Sterelity of this region must be desolate in the extreme in the winter as it has nothing inviting now Made 18 miles and struck the creek again and encamped without scarcely aparticle of grass the earth dry and completely parched to dust which moves in perfect clouds around us during the day when on march it is a little remarkable that all the native animals get so verry fat in dry parched region so bare of vegetation

20 crossed over a narrow ridge and struck the creek again above the rocks through which it passes made 7 miles and encamped clos below another Kenyon through which the creek passes and near to whare we encamped in January 1824 at which time we under J. Smith and T Fitzpatrick first traversed the now well known South pass¹⁰⁷ and camp^d on green river on the 19th of march 11 days of which time we never saw a drop of water except what we thawed from Snow The

¹⁰⁷ Cf. this *Quarterly*, vol. IV, no. 2, pp. 127-128 and 132-134.

mountains look quite familiar although I have not seen them for 17 year and it appears as if the 17 summers last past had not in the least diminished the snow that then crown'd their lofty heads which still wore the white appearance of old age

21 It Had the appearance of rain last night and a few drops fell But the sun arose this morning with its usual brightness moved up the dry parched hills crossed a number of ranges of perpendicular rocks black and (&) apparently vitrified passed numerous small brooks & springs very fine and cool & apparently clear of lime or any substance whatever being nearly as pure distilled passed several fine small groves of Aspin the first seen of any consequence Made 14 miles and camp'd on the creek again that we had left this morning now reduced to a small Brook & dammed up by the beaver Likewise confined between steep rocky Bluffs the strata of which rises in perpendicular form Mr. Barnette who has been confined 5 or 6 days with a fever has the appearance of being quite dangerous and has been delirious during the whole of the night

22 Left our thick willow camp and after raising the bluffs Had a fine undulating road across the ridges to another Branch of Sweet water the wild sage the only vegetable seen on the ridges Hardly exceeded two inches in height so completely are these hills formed of dry gravel and deprived of Moisture added to the intense coldness of this high region in sight of the eternal snow that Scarce a week passes without frost and we had a fine one this morning which caused us to hover close to our willow brush fires and [those] out after cattle & Horses complained of cold toes made 7 miles & camped in a pretty faced valley covered with copses of willow and thin short grass many wearing our coats all day without feeling uncomfortably warm

23 Remained in camp to day on the account of Mr. Barneett who we did not expect to live being very low with a Typhus Fever several teams however went on & Mr Gilhams company passed our encampment all Buised in mending washing and preparing for Tomorrow poor Mr Barnett's prospects bad our circumstances not permitting delay & he not being able to travel

To our right and but a short distance Issued a considerable branch of Popo Azia [Agie] the most Southern water of Wind River which Brakes out between a rough pine clad range of mountains and the eternal snow capt. range which rises here from an uneven high plain which forms the dividing ridge Between the waters running into the yellowstone and the platte all portes of which Shew the remains of great convulsions at some remote time

24 A dull cloudy morning the camp made early preparations

For moveing & all roled out except ourselves who remain to take care of Mr Barnett whose prspects for living seem a little better than yestarday all though yet quite small every preperation seemed dull & melancholly & many bid the sick man their last farewell look a Spade was thrown out & left which looked rather ominous The ravens came croaking around us and the Shaggey wolf was seen peeping from the hills to see if the way was clear to contend with the ravens for the Fragment of the camp Early in the afternoon Cap^t Shaw and Morisons company hove in sight and the hills and the vally became the seene of life and animation again for the evening they camping about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile below us Several came to visit us Mr. Harris staid though the night

Sunday the 25 Clear and Bright no change for the better in Mr Barnetts Symtoms rather worse allthough medicine seemed to operate well Found it verry Lonesome to be clear of the noise and Bustle of a large camp and to remain Stationary with a Sick man in one of the most prominent Indian passes of the country in the afternoon However Perkins and Scott came up with the rear of all the Emigrants on the rout & we had their company during the night which intirely relieved the lonsomeness of the Place and many of the Ladies seemed emulous to see which should be the most active in giving us advice & assistance for the relief of our appearantly dying friend the Perkins family in particular

I noticed several vegetables now in full Bloom & do not seem to be the least affected by the cold allthough we have had frost & Ice for 4 nights in succession

26 Usually fine and bright Mr Burnett to all appearance Still wareing away under a verry Strong nervous excitement never being Scarcly one minuit still at a time Mr Scotts company¹⁰⁸ remain here to day and Several of the Ladies are verry kind in doing all they can to make the sick man comfortable about noon Mr Barnette commenced with severe Spasms & seem^d to be in the gratest agony imaginable continually driving his teame or calling on some friend to do something or other all those called being absent late in the evening however he became at spells more camlm & even Stupid & about 10 oclock he departed this life verry easy without a struggle or a groan & all his troubles ware in Silent death having nothing better we cut a bed of green willows & laid him out on the cold ground & all of us seated our-

¹⁰⁸ Probably including Captain Levi Scott's family. He was one of the leaders of the Applegate road explorers who laid out the first trail from Oregon through Northern California and into Nevada, in 1846.

selves around our camp fire & listned to the hair beadth escapes of Mr Harris & other Mountaineers

27 Early we ware up and making preperations for the enterment of the deceased when after Burying him in the most decent manner our circumstances would admit we made ready for leaveing Sweet water on which now rests the Body of Mr Barnette the first white man that ever rested his bones on that stream leaving our willow encampment we soon rose the deviding ridge Between the waters of the Atlantic & Pacific which is nothing more than a plasant assent for about 23 miles & decent of the same distance to afine grassy Spring Brook which pours its crystal waters through green River into the gulf of california rode 25 miles and camp^d on little sandy likewise a tributary of green River

28 Made an Early Start & in a few hours came in sight of a large grassy vally through which runs Big Sandy which unites with the stream we encamped on last night a few miles blow & continue nearly a South course untill they mingle their waters with Green river our general course a little West of South yestarday & to day we had a number of fine views of Several of the pinicles of the wind river mountains the country dry & dusty cowed with wild sage & Praerie Thorn & a few other hardy Stinted vegetables traveled down the west side of Big Sandy Several miles from the Stream as it runs in a croked deep Channel Rode 25 miles and camp^d on Big Sandy During the day had one or 2 views of the utaw mountains Several Snowy point being directly South and bearing Southwest

29 In about 2 Hours ride we came to green river a beautifull clear crystal Stream about one hundred yards wide & nearly Belly deep to our Horses running East of S. through a Sandy parched dry country but little of it clothed with grass some groves of Shrubby cotton wood growing on its banks after crossing we rode down the vally of this stream about 6 miles East of South then South over the Bluffs 12 miles to Black fork which Stream likewise runs into Seetskadee [Green River] about 20 miles east of whare our trail struck it all the high ground dry & dusty & covered with the Eternal Sage which can live without rain from June untill october on a clean pure granite gravel after coming down into the vally of Blacks Fork we turned Short to the West up the same rode 5 miles making about 30 miles and encamped with our former mess once more

30 Moved up Blacks fork and in an hour crossed Hams fork coming in from the N.W. through a fine grassy vally crossed Blacks fork & made a cut off of a long bend & struck the river again in the afternoon we had the Singular phenominon of Seeing a Shower of rain in the vally & after the light cloud passed off the peaks of the Eutaw

mountain were covered white with a fresh fallen snow which however were partially covered with the snows of former winters made 18 miles & encamped on the Stream we left this morning numerous Butes Mounds & ridges occurring all through this vally formed to all appearances by wash of water consisting of Red brown white & green clay formed in many places into Soft rock but still washing away by the water at ever[y] freshett Made 14 miles

31 Moved up the vally of Blacks Fork & early in the afternoon arrived at Bridger & Vasqueses trading house [Fort Bridger] a tempory concern calculated for the trade with Shoshonees and Eutaws which trade is not verry valuable this place is likewise the general rendezvous of all the rocky mountain hunters & Trappers that once numerous class of adventurers are now reduced to less than thirty men which Started out under the command of M^r Bredger yestarday on an excursion through the mountains of Northern & central Mexico this small Trading post is also within the limmits of Mexico but can be no great distance south of the U. States Boundary line this Establishment has a fine grassy vally arround it but of no greate extent we here met M^r Robedeau [Antoine Robidoux] from the arkansas with horses and mules & other articles porposely to catch our trade

Sunday th 1st of September 1844 Moved out north across the hills from Bridgers Trading House found the road rough & hilly & perfectly bare of grass crossed Several steep & deep ravines one of which had some pools of poor Brackish water standing in it in the afternoon passe^d a low range of hills covered with cedar to our left and encamped on a creek called muddy emtying into Hams creek our rout through this Green River vally has been verry crooked & might be easily made to save about 50 miles by keeping more westwardly as the rout is equally level & the only object of this zigzag road is to pass the trading hous which however is some convenienc as we ware able to trade every extra article we had for mokisens & leather clothing. exchanged of all our worn out mules & horses 20 miles

2 Fine & dry moved westwardly up the vally of muddy creek which is entirely bare of grass made 12 miles & encamped in a Loose Scattering manner grass Scarce & dried all up passed Several ranges of volcanic hills rocks standing nearly perpendicular running as usual from S.W. to N.E. But differant from any I had before noticed the perpendicular Bluffs being on the eastern side & the gradual slope on the west the sides of many of the ridges are covered with scatering cedars but most of them are bare having Scarcely any vegetation on them not even the wild Sage which seems to be the hardiest vegitable in this cold dry region & I can now see severall Bunches Just dropping the

Bloom allthough we have had but few nightis without frost since we came in sight of the snow capt mountains game antelopes grouse & Rabbits

3 I let my Horses loose a little before day & they took the road ahead & I did not come up with them for about 4 miles whare they stoped to graze on a small vally of fine grass whare we all Should have encamp^d last night all Subordination and controle haveing been broken up for several days thinking ourselves out of danger at least danger of life But all Savages will Steal & so will the Shoshonees a parti of which are now passing while I am writeing Made 5 miles & encamped at a fine Sping of water the head of the North branch of Muddy on a fine platte of grass the rout to cross the Second mountain or deviding ridge between Green river & Bear river Several of us are preparing to go through on Horses & are Buisily preparing for our departure tomorrow nothing for fire but Sage

4 Left our encampment Early 4 of us on packhorses for fort Hall & In a few hours we arived at the top of the ridge or mountain deviding the waters of green river and Bear riiver which last Emties in to the Greate Salt Lake from the top of the ridge we had a fine view of Green River vally which at this season of the year Looks Bald rough & desolate the Bear River vally ahead not quite so Bad but bear & Bad Enough every thing looking dry and parched the road up the East side follows a ravine whose sides are finely clothed in many places with aspin groves and the assent not verry Steep or difficult several fine Springs breaking out Just below the assent the ascent westward is steep in several places & some sideling ground that requires some care & a good spring Breaks out on Left of the road made 30 melis & encamped on Bear river

5 packed up & moved North down Bear River vally a brad fine well grssed vally with a steep range of volcanick mountains on each side but these ranges are not so regular as those noticied Hertofore but the rocks & earth Shew more the marks of eternal heat about noon we passed Smiths river running into Bear River the former a rapid Stream about 20 yards wide running rapidly over a round gravelly bed clear as crystal & cool as spring water made 24 miles & encamped on the North bend or as the hunters say whare Bear River comes around the point of the mountain this vally is the early Rendevous of the mountain Trappers & hunters But in the last 7 or 8 years the Buffaloe have entirely left this country & are now seldom seen west of Sweet water 20 miles Traveled

6 Started Early on the road following the bends of the River which was here during the forenoon verry crooked running at allmost

all points of the compass early in the afternoon the road Steered out from the river & crossed over a steep rugged mountain which howevir is not wide the decente being very steep & about a mile in length from the top of this mountain we had a view of the N. end of sweet Lake [Bear Lake] which lies in a vally South of the river the river pasing through this mountain opens out into a much larger vally below the mountains bordering this vally have the same vitrified volcanick appearance as yestarday If it was not for the intire want of Timber this vally in many places might bear cultivation to some extent made 27 miles & encamped on a cool mountain Brook destitute of Timber

7 Packed up before Sunrise and made off down the rever a N.W. course through a fine level vally for Several hours the mountains keeping thier usual appearance about noon we again had to cross over a mountain not verry high or rugged We did not Strike the river during the day but crossed several Brooks of good water & encamped at the Soda Springs a company of hunters from Fort hall had Just arived & Likewise a few persons (to hunt and make dried meat) For California

These Springs are a greate natural curiosity the immediate vicinity of Springs are covered with Shrubby Cedars and pine timber & near the river a Shelly rock makes its appearance a little further out a fine white clay which appeared to have been blown up with a Substrata of rock which lies immediately beneath a thin Layer of caly [clay] this appears in dry times to form Quantities of the Salts of Soda then it becomes Quickly moistened and produces a Quanty of gass which is confined below & Bursts up the rock & earth to give it vent. the Strongest Spring is about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile North from the river which is so highly charged that it almost takes your Breath to drink acup of it Quick from the Spring But the most Singular one is below near the river Spouting as much as 6 feet high & a heavy collumn I had not more than one hour to make my examinations I regrett much that I was so hurried Several Large Spings of fresh water Break out in the viceinity of these & one hot Spring the rocks Strewed over the Lower plain has once evidently been in a State of fusion & resemble the Slag thrown out of Lead furnaces I mean the rock Strewed over the lower part of the vally

Sunday

8 After taking several hearty drinks of Soda water we left the Soda Springs went down the vally of the River about three miles when the river & us took different directions we turning Short to the N. & the River to the S a fine looking open vally Shewed itself before us but we ware Sadly disappointed for our appearant Smoothe road was rough & rocky all covered with Cynders of the hardest kind and broken

into chasms & deep holes in all directions & the forenoon was wholly the worst road we have seen the afternoon proved to be better Traveling made 17 miles & encamped on Portnuff a Stream haveing Some curoisity about its heading in (in) the mountain deviding Bear & Snake Rivirs and taking a Southern course into the vally of Bear River it turns short into the mont[ain]

9 Made an Early Start on way up Portnuff & at noon Stop to graze on the top of the mountaines deviding the rivers we found this mountain pass verry cold & windy leaving our Nooning place we wound around from Knob to ravine a few hours and began [to] desend the ravines of Ross^s. Creek toward Snake River Saw Some good Soil on these mountains but it is so dry & cold that it is useless made 25 miles and camp^d. The Prairies haveing been burnt recently our horses fared rather poor the ranges of these hills or mountains are not so regular as some others we have passed But are burned blacker and harder than any yet seen & are thrown up in a more confused manner Saw no kind of game Save a few covy^s of mountain grouse

I fear the whole country West and South of us will be burned over as it keeps verry Smokey

10 Moved on down the creek N.W. & Soon came in sight of the broad extensive vally of Snake river which for Several miles was entirely covered with wild Sage & deep blackish Sand after a fatiguing [ride] we at length reach^d the Low vally & found plenty of grass & good water whare we unpacked to graze Made 16 miles & encamped on Snake River about 2 miles above Fort Hall as we understood the grass was poor Further down this vally is wide & the Northern Highlands are invisible perhaps on account of the Smoke which lies thick in this vally the land appears to be poor & cold with great Quantities of Springs & Brooks in all Directions with the finest Kind of Trout but they ware Difficult to be Taken I did not go down to visit the Fort as I had no Letters for that place a good stock of cattle is Kept at the fort & a Large Quantity of Horses

11 one ½ hour bro^t us oposite to the white washed mud walled Battlements of Fort Hall and as I had no Buisiness to transact I did not go inside But the outward appearance was pretty fair for a comfortable place for all that the present trade admits of Flour plenty at \$20 per cwt. as nothing was purchased I cannot give any other prices but I presume they are as cheap as any of her Sister establishment in this region about noon crossed Portnuff here a Swift Stream 60 yards wide & Belly deep to our horses haveing plenty of T[r]out in it Made 18 miles & encamped on the river about half of a mile above the first falls during the whole of the afternoon we ware passing large

bottoms of grass which would Support a considerable number of cattle & other Stock but no land fit for cultivation the uplands are covered with wild Sage

12 about Sunrise we ware again on the trail and passed the falls whose musick luled us to sleep last night these falls have but little perpendicular pitch but fall about 16 or 18 feet in a verry short distance the water comeing rapidly down a raged rock is torn all into white foam Several rapids ocured this forenoon and the whole country appears to have been once in a complete fusion of Liquid matter the rocks are all of a dark Borown & Black vitrified colour & some resembling Black glass in every particular a fiw Scattering cedars appear along the Bluffs which only help to give the country more of a melencholly appearance the Eternal Sage plains appear as extensive as formerly Crossed one singular creek which came tumbling down rapidly over a continual Succession of diposit damns made from the water made 27 miles

13 last night contrary to our expectations we came to a brook with a broad vally of fine grass this brook is called cassia & is the place whare Mr. Hitchcock¹⁰⁶ left our rout & went South with 13 wagons in company for callifornia this days Travel is the most Barren Sterril region we have yet passed nothing to disturb the monotony of the Eternal Sage plain which is covered with broken cynders much resembling Junks of pot mettal & Now & then a cliff of Black burned rock which looks like Distruction brooding over dispair found a filthy pond of water at noon made 28 miles & encamped on the river which we left yestarday & again had fair grazeing No animal Seen no fowl Save a few mountain grouse which can live in any region whare vegetation can grow our couse down this river so far has been S.W.

14 Left our camp on the river & Steered S. of W. across a Barren Sage plain corssed one brook of water & Saw 2 Antelope the only animals seen in some days The earth is the driest I ever saw it & the dust rises in perfect clouds every particle of moistness & adhsion is obliterated & lost & currents of dust is frequently seen rolling down the path & Spreading like hot embers that have been well Stirred came to the River to noon & grze the River running through cliffs of Black volcanic Rocks which grew Steeper & higher as we decended down the River at length we left the Bluffs of the River being 1000 or more feet of Perpendicular Rock standing from the plain to the water & the river pressed to 20 or 30 feet in width after 20 miles of fatiugueing ride we encamp^d haveing made 30 miles at fair grass & water

Sunday

Strewn thick with Cynders & other volcanic Rock verry rough & Sharp

¹⁰⁶ Cf. page 333.

15 Left our camp on the brook & moved off west over a Sage plaine as usual Kept down the course of the creek we encampd. on last night soon saw that it fell in to a Kenyon of Steep Black Rocks after following 8 or 10 miles we crosseed..over the Kenyon at a favourable point & Struck for the River over the usual Kind of Sage plane & late in the afternoon we desended the main Kenyon on Snake River The Black battlement cliffs of this river remind one of the Fragments of a world distroyed or at least distroyed for all human purposes on the river we found a Small fishing party of Ponack^s. [Bannocks] who had plenty of Small fish of the Sucker mouthed Kind Several Tremendious Springs come Pouring out of the rocks oposite Made 20 miles & encamped on the River confined in Between high & impassible rocks

16 Pased down the Kenyon to the mouth of a Small river & over the ridge to the little or upper Salmon Falls whare we found a number of Indians encamped who offered us plenty of dried Salmon cheap & almost for any thing we offered them these falls are Surrounded with high inaccessable Clay & rock Bluffs the vally narrow & Broken up with ravines Sandy without vegetation except Sage & some of the Same Kind of useless hardy plants Made 25 miles over Sage plains deep ravines clay Bluffs &c &c it being the most uneven road we have yet had for so greate a distance & the most Barren county of grass Likewise as well as an intire want of water except in the River [which] runs in such a precevice that only a few places can [be] desended even on foot & then to return to the summt is $\frac{1}{2}$ a days hard labour

17 Left our position & went down the River whare it was with difficulty that our pack horses could Travel on account of the steepness of the way at length about 10 A.M. we came to the ford or upper crossing of the river & saw a few Teams on the opposite side that had left Fort Hall 6 days before us. Soil since we left portnuff Slaked & unslaked lime volcanic rocks & fine & coarse sand Sometimes simple & pure & other times mixed in various proportions vegetation Sage prarie Thorn & Liquorice plant all Shrubby but thick set with Scarcely any grass on the uplands Some lowlands are Sometimes well set withe Short grass made 24 miles & encamped on a Small Brook with Several Wagons & found Some Ney Percee Indians with them & a few Snakes Some difficulty was likely to grow out of a Stolen horse. the [matter] was easily settled

18 After crossing the River yestarday we Steered north Several miles We raised a high bluff & crossed an uneven sage plane on a western direction & at Starting we Steered N.W. to the point of a low Mountain intirely destitute of Timber But Plenty of Sage & the ground

to travel over passed a verry hot Spring & grazed at a muddy Brook overgrown with canes

The afternoon about 10 miles was the most Rocky rough road we have yet seen made 25 miles & encamp^d on a Small Brook running through a deep Kenyon the mountains again made their appearanc on the South Side of Snake River which had disappered for Some days past the Rocky cliffs to our North of us appear verry dry & Rugged

19 A few hours from our last nights encampment Brot us to an entire chang of Surface & we gladly exchang^d the rough volcanick rocks for good hard gravel road but Quite uneven and the Burnt earth & rock entirely disappered & was succeeded by the rough grey granite Standing like Stumps on a fallow or more like a monumental church yard this singular appearance lasted in groups for several hours & we saw but little sage during the day Made 30 miles & encamped at the first possible chance we found to desend to the River Gross Boise or Bigwood which here comes rushing out of the most uneven Rugged Mountain I had yet seen & passes rapidly down through a Steep Kenyon which cannot [be] assended or desended even on foot except in a few places this is a rapid Stream about 40 yards wide & is fine for Salmon

20 Set out down the river west the mountains to our right and the perpendicular rock Bank to the left both receding & deminishing a fine wide vally opened to our view & we passed down through the dust which was almost past endureance but not much wose than it had been for Several day past This stream has more Timber & Brush than most of the streams of this [region] allthough this vally is wide yet it has scarcely any grass & the land is as dry as ashes & would not produce any Known grains or vegetables made 20 miles & encamped on the river which is as clear & fine as a mountain Torrent which it is of the finest Kind ourselves & animals are completey tired out with dust & burned Prairies which has generally been the case since we left the devide between Bar River and Snake River Camp^d with 2 Teams that ware ahead

Made 28 miles

21 Left our camp & Took to the dust again in a few miles we passd 9 wagons in camp about 4 miles further passed 14 or 15 more all making a move for the road crossed over the river to the north Side & made our way down a dry dusty plane untill noon this river so far has but little grass & what is is dry or Burne^d close to the ground to day we are almost out of Sight of Mountains only the tops of a few being visable The country we have passed over will be distressing to the teams in the rear as it is already bare

Afternoon again Bore down the vally found it verry dry &

dusty But better grassed course North of West a little Before Sun-down came in sight of Fort Boisie & encamped for the night a beautifull clear evening & the sun went tranquilly down behind the Blue mountans without a cloud to be seen

Sunday

22 Left our camp 2 miles above Fort Boise & passed the mud walld Fort of Boise & the clerk was Kind enough to make us out a Sketch of the rout to walla walla crossed Snake River a Short distance below the Fort found the ford good & Smoothe but rather deep for wagons unpacked on the opposite Side Several Families of Ponacks & Sauptins [Nez Percés] were encamped at the Fort it being Sunday the sauptins refused to trade with our men on account of the Sabbath Packed oup & put N. of W. Snake River running N. The Trail carried us over another Sage plain 14 miles to Malure River a dirty deep Stream running to the N.E. with a fine large dry vally covered in strong coarse grass & small willows a hot spring coming out on E. Shore under a high cliff of volcanic rocks

Made 28 miles

23 Left our camp on Malure & Struck out N.W. up a vally the eastern branch of which we assended to the head & decended another dry ravine beyond the ridge the entire country covered with sage which from some cause or other is nearly all dead passed the Birch Spring and encamped on Snake River which here comes out of a rough looking mountain to the east & makeing a Short curve goes off into the mountains again to the North our camp is verry poor for grass which has been the case for Several days & no appearance for the better many of our horses are nearly exhausted & several afoot this evening we raised our bread with saleratas picked up a few miles east of independenc rock on sweet water

24 Clear as usual for it has not rained Since we left Fort Larri-mie passed a ridge & soon Struck by what we Supposed to be Burnt River Quite a small crik Bound in by steep high Lime rock Mountains almost impasible for our horses yet the wagons have gone this rout these mountains as well as those passed yestarday shew all the visible effects of fire Som red some yellow Brown white & green mostly of decomposed rock & remarkable fine clay all dry & dusty even to the touch Made 17 miles through the worst mountains and over the worst road we have yet seen the sides of these mountains are nearly perpendicular & composed of granite & rough Slate rock without any timber or any other kind of vegetation except Short grass and in many places entirely bare

25 Left our camp in the slate mountains & after making two or

three curves in the hills we came out on an open country comparatively & Struck Burnt river again in a vally north of which stands a singular conicle Knobb crown^d with several pinicles of rocks resembling horns no game of any kind seen not even the appearance of a rabbit which are so plenty on snake River Made 18 miles & encamp^d at a Spring amongst rounded Knobs well clothed in Short grass as all the country in sight has been all the afternoon there seems to be an entire change of Soil from any we have passed over Lately all the streams are likewise (are) slightly skirted to day with willows alders & a Species of Birch & other Shrubery but no valluable timber has been seen since we passed the Black Hills

26 Left our camp at the spring & took the trail bearing N. up though the hills arived at the top of the ridge Saw to our left mountains clothed with pine or othe[r] evergreen timber a few hours brought us to another detested sage plain that vegetable being Scarce for the last 2 days Nooned at what is called the lone Tree in the middle of a vally & a fine one it has been of the pine Spicies now cut down & all the branches used for fuel the day verry Smoky & I Begin to daubt M^r. Espy^s theory of produceeing rain by any phisical means as the whole country has been on fire for a month past & no rain yet a range of mountains lying close to our left seem to be all enveloped in Smoke Made 25 miles & encamped on Powder River which runs (when there is Plenty of water) through a fair vally of grass the hills Likewise are generally well covered with the Same, our selves & animals are becomeing tired of travel

27th Came to our camp last night M^r [William C.] Dement and 4 Indians going to meet the wagons their object I did not assertain but some (some) speculation no doubt Passed through a beautifull vally this fore noon well grassed but to dry for cultivation a Timbred mountain close to our left the same seen range yestarday morning As we caught our horses for our aftenoons travel Some Indian as is their habit when they discover Strangers in their country set fire to the grass about a half mile ahiad of us our rout being N. & a strong south wind blowing the fire kept ahead of us though the hills about 6 or 8 miles and when we overtook the fire we had some difficulty in passing it but all got through nearly suffocated with smoke & dust & entered the grand Round vally the whole mountains which surround this vally completely enveloped in fire and Smoke neare Sundown we discovered a man rideing rapidly toward us which proved Mr Watters [James Waters] from Willamitt waiting for his family which he expects to come in this seasons imigraton made 26 miles and encamped close under the Bleue Mountains in company with Mr. Watters & Mr [Rice?]

28 Concluded to ly still to day and rest ourselves and horses before taking the Blue Mountains which we are informed will be two days without grass this is a well watered well grassed vally but the thick smoke preventes me from seeing the probatible Size or extent I think however it is not large Remained in camp to day which was Quite warm although we had a white frost last night as we have had for several nights past. Encamped in this vally are several hudred Indians of the Skyuse nation now amalgamated with Shehaptin or Pierce nose nation 30 or 40 of these people visited us this afternoon & from whom we traded a little cammerce thy bringing with them some peas & Squashes of their own raising they seemed to be anxious to see our wagons & cattle they being anxious to trade horses (for) of which they have great Quantities for cattle & appear to be rapidly advancing in civilization this vally is also verry favourable to the groth of the (root) Cammerce root a root much resembling & onion in appearance but of a Sweet rich tast when roasted after the manner of the Indians the smok appeared to encrease

29 Sunday Left our camp in the grand Round vally and took up the Blue Mountains which are steep & rough but not so bad as I had anticipated from Previous information came to the grand round creek in about 10 miles the mountain so far is mostly Prairie & fairly covered with g[r]ass some parts However espically the ravines & vallies are covered with pine & spruce timber the rocks all shew the effects of internal fires Left our nooning & proceeded on N. Westward Pased some remarkable wild & lonesome groves of pine & firr that had a dark appeearanc & the more so on account of the thick smoke that enveloped the mountain in such clouds as to nearly hide the sun at midday continued untill dusk along bare rocky rough Sides of the mountain extremly bad for wagons & encamped with out water there being but little water in these dry vitrified ridges made 26 miles saw but little sign of any wile animals Except Pheasants which are plenty in some parts of this range & live upon the berries of winter green which grows in Quantities in many places saw likewise a specees of Laurel or Ivy on the Ridgis

30 Saddled up at day light and proceded on our way found the trail tolerable for hosses in about 8 miles came to some pools of Standing water whare we took Breakfast these mountains are partially covered with Several Kinds of evergreen timber the South sides of the ridgis are bare or thinly sit with grass all the rocks & they are plenty shew the effects of fire at some remote period the caly [clay] is of the same kind as that found on the plains verry fine and Soluble in water but of a yellow colour Some a verry deep yellow with all Shades

down to a pale grate Quantities of coarse pumice stone laying strewn over the ground particularly near the western descent of the mountain the western descent of the Mountain is much more easy & gradual than the eastern so far I have seen but little land that would be called fit for cultivation in any of the Western States although there are a few Spots that would bare cultivation Made 25 miles & encamped on a Small brook or rather Spring to the right of the trail & close to the foot of the mountain

[Inside back cover]

Madison Gilmore	tell these
Joel Walker	Gentlemen
Peter H. Burnett	that Gnel [General]
Anarson [Anderson] Smith	Gilham is on the road
James Watters ¹⁰⁹	and scarce of Provision ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ All these, except Walker, were immigrants of 1843.

¹¹⁰ John Minto, writing from memory after many years, says that Peter H. Burnett "had left a letter at Fort Hall in 1843 to the effect that if for any cause there was likely to be suffering before the families could reach the Willamette and we would let it be known, relief would be sent." Clyman and Minto were among those who went forward on horseback. They met Dement, Waters and Rice already on the road to meet the immigrants, adds Minto, *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 2, June, 1901, pp. 119-167; Sept., 1901, pp. 209-254.

[BOOK 4]

[Cover]

Oct 1844

[Inside front cover]

Stapletons in California

Sarcxie P. O. Missouri

[*The Blue Mountains to the Valley of the Willamette, October 1 to 13*]Tuesday Oct 1st 1844

A Beautifull morning & fine clear nights I neglected to mention yesterday that this vally was nearly covered with horses when we came down the mountain but no Indians came to our camp this as well as the grand round vally being one of the great Stopping places of the Kyuse tribe of Indians & from them we obtained Some Potatoes Corn Peas & Squashes of their own raising they likewise are verry anxious to obtain cows & other cattle for which they exchange horses of which they have great Quantities There is no climate finer than this if dry weather constitutes a fine climate & indeed the days remind one of Byrons discription of Italy not a cloud to be seen neither day nor night for months together

Left our encampment & proceded on the Trail 2 or 3 miles when we came to a Kyuse farm Krailed [corralled] in with willows and planted with corn beans potatoes &c &c here we left the wagon trail which turns to the right & goes to Dr Whitmans said to be 40 or 50 miles further than the rout we took which goes down the Utila I here observed that the wild Bunch grass of this country was intirely eat out near the Indian farms and does not seem to grow again Traded some potatoes of the Kyuse Women & proceeded on down the Utila a fine mill-stream made 16 miles & campd on the creek at the head of a Kenyon through which the creek passes during the day saw several large roads leading in different directions

2nd I neglected to mention that I forwarded all the letters intrusted to my care & directed to Mr [H. H.] Spalding & Dr. [Marcus] Whitman to Mr Gilbert who left us in the grand round vally to go directly to Dr Whitmans & I hope they went to their proper directions

Last night about 8 oclock & while we ware all siting by our camp fire talking & thinking ourselves one niight safe for horse thieivs we heard an unusual tramping of our horses When I arose & walked out in the direction of our horses what was my surprise to find my fine but most st[a]rved mare being driven off by an Indian on hose back not haveing brought my gun with me I called to him to halt at which he put off at full speed leaveing the mare & 2 mules that ware following so much for the Kyuse who are said to be the most honest Savage people

on the continent our fore noons travel has been mostly down the utilla through a very dry country the stream confined amidst a black wall of volcanick rocks & over a dryer upland thinly coated with short grass made 26 miles & encamped on the utilla several Indians made their appearance but did not come to us this afternoon passed some small patches of cultivated land in a small but rich vally near the creek the weather continens verry smoky although we have not seen any fires for several days this creek does not afford any valuable timber ther being nothing but cotton wood that grows to any size & that is verry shrubly

3^d Left our camp amidst the walla walla camps there being 3 of their fires in sight none of them came near us during the night & as several men ware robbed by them last season we ware glad to [see] that they kept at a distanc our party being now reduced to 4 men the others some haveing gone to Dr Whitmans and some having preceded us on leaveing camp We likewise left the timber which extends no farthe down the utilla the stream running over black burned rocks to whare it enters the columbia came on the banks of the great river about 11 o'clock which shews no change but runs through sand planes & rocky banks so far as we went without timber or drift wood except here & there a small clump of willows & those scarce passed several encampments of Wallawallas sutuate on sand bars along the river which came out & gazed at us as we passed

Made 24 miles over mostly sand plains covered with sage & prickly pears bothe of which we thought & hoped that we had passed at our camp we found it difficult to gather as much Brush weeds & sage as would boil a fiw potatoes & a cup of coffee the river looks Beautiful & the water clear and good but nothing else can be seen to change the sight of the detested sage & sand plnes —

Greate Quantities of Salmon are taken in the utilla when the water is up in June and their appears to be plenty of that Fish in the stream yet as we could hear splunging on the ripples all night but they are [not] considered good at this season haveing become Quite poor from thier long stay in fresh water as the smallest kind of a fish could not assend this streame at this season of the year the upper vally of this stream would make some handsome farms if their was any timber to be had but none is seen except cottonwood & willow

4 Had a Quiet nights rest and a Beautifull clear morning Left our camp on the great river & proceed down the River passed several Indian villages all on the oposite side nothing seen but rocks sand & a shrubby stinted groth of vegetation with here & there [a] Bunch of

short grass the north side of the River appears to be closely Bound
by a ridge of Black frowning rocks current of the river rapid

The ridge of rocks mentioned in the fore noon closed up on the south side in afternoon and gave us an uncommon bad road even in this steril region and we had to travil over sharp rocks or deep sands & sometimes both the rocks being covered deep in sand so that our horses sunk half leg deep in sand & then stepped on unknown sharp rocks at the bottom making the way extremely tiresome & bad

Made 26 miles & encamped on the (on the) River again before we had packed up three men with thier guide & enterperter came up from willamette on their way to meet the emegrants one of them general [M. M.] McCarver was expecting to see his family on the road but we could not give him any information concerning them we soon parted they proceeding up & we down the river

The general seemed to speak in raptures of the Oregon Country and even went on to say that on the top of the cliff of Black rocks under which we ware encamped was a fine grazeing country this may be admitted but certainly their was not the amount of one cord of wood in the circuit of 25 miles & perhaps not a drop of water in the same distance except what flowed in the Columbia & many other extravigancies

5 Left our camp once more after haveing 28 miles of the most tiresome Travel we had yet found on account of the Quantity of sharp fallen rocke which filled the path over which we had to travel the [path] leading near the water in under a cliff of dark perpendicular rocks the fragments of which had fallin down & choked up all the narrow wally far in to the water some times disending to a considerable hight immediately under the cliff & then ascending back to the water edge along a narrow path which one animal could scarcely travel in over sharp rocks made the road tiresome in the extreme & we traveled steadily all day without stopping the afternoon being windy & Bo[is]torows the dust & sand nearly choked us when about sundown we came to a small open vally & encamped for the night tired and glad to find a resting place larg enough to ley down on these rocks remind one of emmense walled cities castled forts & ruins of tremendous magnitude but this is the last place in the world to enjoy any such scenery whare nothing is to be seen but rocks Sand & Savages

Sunday

6 Crossed Johndays River early which like all the country in this region comes in through steep rocks & is difficult to cross on account of the rocks being very steep passed severall steep cliffs all of which may [be] said to be dangerous on account of the loose rocks of which they

are composed & the high perpendicular cliffs below jetting over the river Late in the afternoon passed the river De Shutes made 44 miles in the 2 days

7 yestarday evening after passing the River De Chuttes took a guide who conducted us a short rout over the hills to a small rich vally with handsome little Brook running through it whare we encamped for the night this vally would bear cutivation but has no timber in sight saw mount hood nearly west covered in snow nearly half way dow[n] its sides this weather continues thick & smoky

yanky story

Every device and artifice is used by the natives of this river to obtain amunition & other manufactoried articles of the whites & the following was used by some natives to day 5 or 6 natives came leaping & yelling gaily from bahind the sand hills one [had] a small piece of dried salmon an other a few handfulls of corn a 3^d some dried roots each bringing something & insisted that we should eat we continued moveing on & they running along side offering ther subsistence without price untill reaching a bend in the River westoped to let our horses drink when one of them spreading his blanket on the sand they spread out the repast for us, & obliged us to taste the provision which gave them a fair right to beg and importune us for tobacco Lead powder and in short every small article they could think of after giving a part of what they wanted we rode on they seeming well pleased

Reached M^r [H. K. W.] Perkins missionary station in the fore noon now occupid by M^r [Alvan F.] Waller delivered to him a letter taken from the office at west port Mr Waller appears to be a gentleman but I do not recolect that he thanked me for the care & trouble of bringing the letter but the reverend gentleman must be excused for my appearance certainly did not shew that I could appreccate any civilities not haveing shaved for about 15 day or changed clothes for more than 30 and the Reverend gentleman pricking himself verry much on outward appearances as I have since understood

8 started up the steep ridge west of the creek & in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour reached the top our selve & horses in a foam of sweat on account of the steepness of the path but the cool mountain Breeze soon relieved our lungs this like all the ridges of this mountain was soon crossed & we had a longer & steeper decent than any previouly crossed but after a pack horse or two pitching thire loads over their heads we at length reached not the bottom but smoothe going which fell into deep ravines to the right passed over an uneven plain covered with the pines & largest kind of Fir & pine timber interspersed with stented oaks this continued for some 9 [?] miles with several small Brook passing

through made 18 miles & encamped near the bank of rapid tumbling mountain torrent immediately below the forks the eastern branch from its colour & appearanc being a part of the weepings from the white summit of Mount Hood which is covered in snow more than half way down its sides

The ridges over which we passed are verry steep and high being about 2 miles & about the same distance down the opposite side

From the missionary establishment passed yestarday there is a grand view of the Columbia pushing its course through the black Frowning rocks which stand in thick profusion in over & about the stream with the wildest mountain scenery in all directions & of all kinds surmounted in the north west by a conicle summit of a mountain caped in Eternal snow

9 Proceede early up the East side of the stream we had encamped on & soon crossed the Eastern branch the water being very rapid tumbling & roling down amidst the rocks which lay so thick that it was difficult for our horses to keep their feet passed up the stream some miles through allmost impervious thickits of veer[y] green shrubery of to me new & unknown kinds crossed over to the W Branch through the same kind of Shrubery & passed up the East side of the W Branch through immense groves of Fir timber the tallest & straites I ever beheld some supposed to be nearly or Quite 100 feet high & not more than 18 inches through at the ground immense mountains covered and crouded thickly with timber apearing in all directions in the afternoon we assended an open ridge the large timber having (havein) been killed off by fire & from this ridge we had a splendid view of mount Hood & various other ridges & pinicles some thickly timbered to their summits others nearly bar or covered with under brush shewing at this season a greate veriaty of [colors] some covered with a species of dwarf maple wore a deep red appearance others yallow & Brown contrasted with the deep green Firr of othe[r] points & the white snowy summit of Mount Hood gave us all the variety of shades allmost between green white & red But soon we took down the steep sides again & all views ware lost except now & then a perpendicular peep up an immense Firr tree which seemed to have no reasonable stopping but went on to a dizzy hight

Made about 25 miles & encamped after sun down tied up our horses not having seen a hanfull of grass during the day

10 Saddled our Starved animals and proceed up the couse of one of branches of the same creek we followed all day yesterday the same immense Quantity of timber continueing & not in the [least] diminished in Size & hight in about 4 hours winding around & jumping over

logs we (we) assended the highest ridge of the cascade mountains over which the trail passes but the timber prevented us from having any view in any direction turning short to the west we began our descent down the western declivity & following the course of a ravine through which ran a clear Brook of cool water we descended rapidly and found going down hill more pleasant than going up especially when one goes on foot as we all did our horses not being able to carry us in about 3 hours we came to an open sandy vally through which ran a rapid Brook called Sandy the vally being more than a mile wide & covered with sand & Loose rock

This vally appeared to have been a deep mountain ravine at no distant period from the greates Quantities of dry Firr that [were] standing on each side and lay strewn over and intermingled with the rocks and sand and as the Stream takes its rise from the summer weepings of Ice & snow on the western declivity of Mount Hood I conclud that some tremendous avalanch must have deceeded into the vally carrying every thing before it rock sand gravel timber & all in one confused mass the whole being carried down filled up the narrow ravine & forming the present vally now Just begining to shew a stented groth of young Firrs or that some internal heat must have melted off the ice & the immense flood of water broke over all its original bounds tore away from the lower part of the mountain [the] mixed mass that now fills & forms the vally

11 Left our camp on sandy & proceded along the blind trail down the stream at a slow gate untill nearly noon the brawling mountain torrent haveing assumed Quite the appearanc of a river we left the stream & turned short to the right & soon came to a kind of Brushy opening of rich soil & some grass whare we stoped to graze an hour saw some male Fern growing here nine or 10 feet in hight

moved on the trail along a narrow ridge amongst the tall Firr and the emmence large Hemlock timber grate Quantities lying down & more standing Several small Brooks crossing our path untill near sundown we came to an opening or Small Prairie whare we encamped for the night going nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ amile down a steep declivity for water to cook our Suppers during the whole of today the country had been burned some still on fire & some had been burned last year the under Brush being killed & the larger [timber] haveing fallen in all directions made the travelling verry bad & tiresome as our horses had to leap over all the logs filled with sharp snags & limbs to the greates danger of letting out their entrails

Made about 18 miles & we ware glad to find a spot of green grass for our animals to feed on during the night these mountains do not

appear to have much game on them as we saw nothing but a few small Squirrels & some Pheasants the latter plenty in (in) some places & several were killed to day which proved to make a fine Treat and ate well being fat and finely flavored passed several small spots of land that appeared to have a deep rich soil of pale redish coloured clay mingled with decomposed rock and gravel and generally covered with an immense thick and large growth of fir timber

12 Again under way before Sunrise a stiff white frost covered the grass & weeds in an hours travel we came down a Steep hill into a low ground completely strewn over with logs & brush a late fire having passed over in many [places] the smoldering logs were (were) yet smoking after leaping logs & Braking Brush we succeeded in gaining the Banks of sandy the stream we left to the south of us yesterday & crossed to South side where for a mile or more we encountered the same difficulties as on the North side after greater exertion to our Jaded animals we at length gained the top of the Bluffs where the path became more open and traveling more pleasant crossing two or three handsome Brooks & passing as many thickets we at length gained an open highland of fine Soil covered thickly with fern & dug thickly with holes by some Burrowing animal what kind I did not ascertain¹¹¹

Made about 15 miles and encamped at a small Spring where we found fair grazing for our animals and we made preparations for Shaving & preparing ourselves to see our countrymen tomorrow

almost wearied out with the continual watching it requires to travel through an unsettled country such as we had now passed our little party felt lively and happy and [it] became a pleasant task to once more wash shave and bathe ourselves in the cold clear running little brook that passed our present encampment and we spent a Jovial evening around our camp fire in the anticipation that for a while at least our constant toils were about to cease as we knew the settlements were not far distant about dark two Indians of the Walla walla tribe came up & camp^d near having been to Willamette trading they remained with us & in the morning we parted each [going his own] road

Sunday

13 Early we were again on our saddles and Kept down the valley of (of) some creek or river [of] which we heard the water rippling but did not come in sight of the stream, the trail leading along through a kind of fir opening where the grass in places looked green as summer in spots but we soon passed over all the fine places going up (and) steep banks through brush & logs almost impassable the woods having been

¹¹¹ Probably the Sewelle or *Aplodontia*, a burrowing rodent about the size of a muskrat, and inhabiting the fern thickets in the Cascade Mountains.

recently burned & many old logs yet smoking and again crossed sandy haveing increased to a small river still running rapid over a rocky bed the low grounds being litterly covered with logs and brush after tearing through brush and leaping logs about an hour we at length assended the bluffs & found an open trail comparatively crossed Several fine running brooks of clear water steep gutters &c &c About 2 oclock P.M. came on the top of ridge & saw some cattle feeding on the vally of the clackimus River & soon came in sight of a cabbin the first of the settlement of Willhamett and on enquiry found we ware within 4 miles of the Falls of Willhamett the Seat of government & the main commercial place for all the settlments of the Teritory of Oregon crossed a rough rocky Ridge & came to a small farm or two on the bottom land of the Clackimus crossed the river at an old Chinook village and in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour we ware on the banks of the Willhamett River and at (on) the lower part of the town or city platt

as soon as I entered the village I shōok hands with a Mr Ware [J. W. Wair] a young man of my acquaintance from Indiana who came out with the last years emigration 20 miles

[TO BE CONTINUED]



FIG. 1. An adobe brick from the church wall of the Mission San Antonio de Padua at Jolon, Monterey County. The soil used in this brick was a heavy loam mixed with sand and coarse gravel, which when soaked in water yielded five different weeds, two varieties of wheat, and one of barley.



FIG. 2. Seed and plant specimens taken from adobe bricks. Top row—olive pits, watermelon and bean seeds, and a fragment of tule stalk. Second row—rachae and glumes of barley and wheat varieties. Third row—representative barren and fertile glumes of several wheat varieties. Lower row—barley and wheat seeds. Lower right corner—seeds of filaree, mustard, chenopodium, pigweed, sow-thistle, and cactus.

THE PLANT CONTENT OF ADOBE BRICKS

With a Note on Adobe Brick Making

**A contribution to the agricultural history of California
derived from a study of the plant remains found
in adobe buildings.**

Between 1697 and 1768 the Jesuit monks built a chain of fifteen missions in the Peninsula of Lower California, and between 1769 and 1824 this chain was extended northward to Sonoma, in Alta California, by the addition of twenty-one Franciscan missions. Throughout this 1100 miles of Pacific Coast territory these mission establishments constituted the first civilized communities, and through them were introduced into California the first cultivated fruits, vegetables, and field crops.

As yet, however, it has not been possible to compile a complete list of the mission crops, for the reason that they were never completely recorded either by the missionaries themselves or by the travelers who visited California during the Spanish period. But the Jesuits are supposed to have introduced the orange, citron, fig, grape, pomegranate, olive, and date into Lower California, and the Franciscans are said to have further enriched their gardens in Upper California by the addition of the following north European fruits: the apple, peach, apricot, plum, and cherry. The Franciscans also grew wheat, barley, maize, garbanzos, horse beans, frijoli beans, flax, hemp, cotton, peas, and tobacco, and their kitchen gardens contained onions, peppers, and melons, but their assortment of green vegetables was small and Forbes⁵ denies that the potato was among their crops. Such is the meager and unsatisfactory crop inventory we have been able to glean from documentary sources, including the mission records themselves and the written accounts of Bryant¹, Forbes⁵, Fremont⁶, Robinson⁹, Vancouver¹¹, and Von Langsdorff¹², all of whom visited California during, or soon after, the Spanish period (1769-1821). Unfortunately too, these early chroniclers were never explicit as to the varieties they observed, and consequently we have no way of knowing—especially for annual crops—which of our present day varieties have descended to us from the original mission stocks, and which have reached us through other channels at a later date. Horace Davis³ expressed this thought when he wrote:

“Among other food supplies they [the missionaries] sowed wheat—what variety it was, or whence it came, we have no means of knowing.”

So far as documentary evidence extends, this statement is true for all of

the annual field crops and most of the perennial fruit crops, because the extensive and continuous introduction of all kinds of seeds and plants, from all quarters of the globe, since the Spanish period, has hopelessly obscured the original Spanish varieties, many of which, as pointed out later, have been entirely lost sight of.

But there is another dependable source of information regarding these crops which has hitherto been overlooked, and this is to be found in the plant remains embedded in the adobe bricks of the mission walls. Sun-dried adobe bricks when immersed in water for a few hours disintegrate into fine particles, so that the seeds and plant fragments contained therein may be easily separated, and this material when washed appears bright and well preserved, particularly when the bricks have been protected from the weather by roofing, and have remained dry. Pursuing this idea the writers collected bricks from six Franciscan missions, and from three buildings dating from the Mexican period (1822-1846), and subjected them to a critical botanical analysis, the result of which is contained in the following table:

PLANTS FOUND IN VARIOUS ADOBE STRUCTURES

SOURCE OF MATERIAL	PART OF BUILDING EXAMINED	DATE OF CONSTRUC- TION	PLANTS RECOVERED
Mission San Antonio de Padua, at Jolon, Monterey County	Compound wall	Founded 1771 About 1787	Tarweed <i>Madia</i> sp. Sow-Thistle <i>Sonchus asper</i> Tarweed <i>Hemizonia</i> sp. Amaranthus <i>Amaranthus</i> sp. Filaree <i>Erodium</i> sp. Native clover <i>Trifolium</i> sp. Knotweed <i>Polygonum</i> sp. Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> Propo wheat <i>Triticum vulgare graecum</i> Coast barley <i>Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica</i>
	Church wall		Sow-Thistle <i>Sonchus asper</i> Chile tarweed <i>Madia sativa</i> Red-stem filaree <i>Erodium cicutarium</i> Ragweed <i>Ambrosia</i> sp. Plantain <i>Plantago</i> sp. Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> Propo wheat <i>Triticum vulgare graecum</i> Coast barley <i>Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica</i>

SOURCE OF MATERIAL	PART OF BUILDING EXAMINED	DATE OF CONSTRUC- TION	PLANTS RECOVERED
Mission San Fernando Rey de España at San Fernando, Los Angeles County	Three bricks were analyzed, one from Mission Reserve wall, one from N.W. corner of old church, and one from the ruins of the trade school. These were analyzed together.	Founded 1797	Red-stem filaree <i>Erodium cicutarium</i> White-tip clover <i>Trifolium varigatum</i> <i>Lotus corniculatus</i> Pigweed <i>Chenopodium sp.</i> <i>Amaranthus sp.</i> Sedge <i>Cyperus sp.</i> Cactus <i>Opuntia engelmanni</i> Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> Coast barley <i>Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica</i> Seedling olive pits, <i>Olea europaea</i> (not the mission variety)
Mission La Soledad, Monterey County	Bricks from interior walls, which probably date from 1793 to 1797.	Founded 1791	Cheese-weed <i>Malva parviflora</i> Filaree <i>Erodium sp.</i> Wild lettuce <i>Lactuca sp.</i> Curly Dock <i>Rumex crispus</i> Tumble-weed <i>Amaranthus graecizans</i> Sow-Thistle <i>Sonchus oleraceus</i> Mustard <i>Brassica sp.</i> Knotweed <i>Polygonum sp.</i> Wild rye <i>Elymus triticoides</i> Nightshade <i>Solanum sp.</i> Seedling olive <i>Olea europaea</i> (not the mission variety) Red Mexican or Pink bean <i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i> Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> California Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum erinaceum</i> Propo wheat <i>Triticum vulgare graecum</i> Unknown beardless wheat <i>Triticum vulgare albidum</i> Coast barley <i>Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica</i> Horsehair
Mission San José de Guadalupe at Mission San José Alameda County	Bricks from interior partition walls in west wing. Probably erected in about 1811.	Founded 1797	<i>Bromus sp.</i> Red-stem filaree <i>Erodium cicutarium</i> Yarrow <i>Achillea millefolium</i> Wild rye <i>Elymus sp.</i> Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> California Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum erinaceum</i> Propo wheat <i>Triticum vulgare graecum</i> Coast barley <i>Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica</i> Oat <i>Avena sterilis byzantiana</i> Cottonwood <i>Populus sp.</i>

SOURCE OF MATERIAL	PART OF BUILDING EXAMINED	DATE OF CONSTRUC- TION	PLANTS RECOVERED
	Bricks from portico parapet on west facade. Date unknown, but probably later than above.		Cheese-weed <i>Malva parviflora</i> Red-stem filaree <i>Erodium cicutarium</i> Buttercup <i>Ranunculus sp.</i> Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> Coast barley <i>Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica</i> Garden rose <i>Rosa sp.</i>
Mission San Juan Bautista, at San Juan Bautista, San Benito County	Plant material taken from a few small brick fragments obtained from pulpit stair in old church.	Founded 1797 1805-1813	Red-stem filaree <i>Erodium cicutarium</i> <i>Dondia California</i> Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> California Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum erinaceum</i> Propo wheat <i>Triticum vulgare graecum</i> Unknown beardless wheat <i>Triticum vulgare albidum</i> Coast barley <i>Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica</i> Wild oat <i>Avena fatua</i>
Mission San Francisco de Solano at Sonoma, Sonoma County	Plant material taken from brick fragments piled in rear of building and taken from inside walls during recent restora- tion.	Founded 1824	Sow-Thistle <i>Sonchus asper</i> Tule <i>Scirpus sp.</i> Buttercup <i>Ranunculus sp.</i> Tarweed <i>Hemizonia sp.</i> Garden pea <i>Pisum sativum</i> Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> Big Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> Unknown beardless wheat <i>Triticum vulgare albidum</i> Coast barley <i>Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica</i>

SOURCE OF MATERIAL	PART OF BUILDING EXAMINED	DATE OF CONSTRUC- TION	PLANTS RECOVERED
Rancho El Sansal near Salinas, Monterey County	Bricks taken from the compound wall	Mexican Grant 1834	Red-stem filaree <i>Erodium cicutarium</i> Sow-Thistle <i>Sonchus asper</i> Tarweed <i>Madia sativa</i> Mustard <i>Sisymbrium</i> sp. Mustard <i>Brassica</i> sp. Sedge <i>Cyperus</i> sp. Pigweed <i>Chenopodium</i> Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> Propo wheat <i>Triticum vulgare graecum</i> Coast barley <i>Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica</i>
La Natividad Rancho, Natividad, Monterey County	Bricks from ruins of dwelling on Tavernetti Ranch	Mexican Grant 1837	Barley Grass <i>Hordeum</i> sp. Red-stem filaree <i>Erodium cicutarium</i> <i>Amaranthus</i> sp. Wild rye <i>Elymus triticoides</i> Sowbane <i>Chenopodium murale</i> Napa thistle <i>Centaurea melitensis</i> Lettuce <i>Lactuca</i> sp. Sheep sorrel <i>Rumex</i> sp. Yellow sorrel <i>Oxalis corniculata</i> Mexican Tea <i>Chenopodium ambrosoides</i> Spanish clover <i>Lotus americanus</i> Sage <i>Salvia</i> sp. Carrot <i>Daucus carota</i> Watermelon <i>Citrullus vulgaris</i> Olive seedling (not the mission variety) <i>Olea europaea</i> Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> Propo wheat <i>Triticum vulgare graecum</i> Coast barley <i>Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica</i>
Vallejo Rancho near Petaluma, Sonoma County	Bricks from partition walls in north wing.	Erected 1834-1845	Filaree <i>Erodium</i> sp. Native clover <i>Trifolium olivaceum</i> Brome grass <i>Bromus</i> sp. Wire grass <i>Polygonum aviculare</i> Curly Dock <i>Rumex crispus</i> <i>Dondia California</i> Wild rye <i>Elymus triticoides</i> Little Club wheat <i>Triticum compactum humboldtii</i> Propo wheat <i>Triticum vulgare graecum</i> Oat <i>Avena sterilis byzantiana</i> Oat <i>Avena sativa</i>

In the interpretation of these findings it should be remembered that hundreds of thousands of bricks were used in each building, and that these were made over a period of years and at different seasons, also that the plants here listed represent the content of only a few bricks from each structure and in some instances only a fragment of a single brick. Consequently these few random analyses must be regarded as chiefly of value in that they suggest the ultimate possibilities of further systematic studies of this character both in California and in Mexico.

The approximate date of the erection of each wall from which bricks were collected has been ascertained as accurately as possible from a study of the documents on file in the Bancroft Library, and these dates are included in the above tabulation.

LITTLE CLUB WHEAT (*Triticum compactum humboldtii*)

This popular present day California variety was found in the walls of the San Antonio, San Fernando, Soledad, San José, San Juan Bautista, and Sonoma missions, as well as at the ranchos El Sansal, Natividad, and Vallejo. In fact it was present in every structure examined, proving conclusively that it was introduced by the missionaries and that it has been grown continuously throughout the agricultural history of California down to the present day. Clark² states:

"this wheat is believed to have been introduced from Chile, as considerable quantities of Club wheat were shipped to the Pacific Coast from Chile during the sixties and seventies."

This has been the accepted opinion regarding the introduction of Little Club wheat into California, but it now becomes obvious that it arrived via Mexico with the Spaniards in the third quarter of the Eighteenth Century.

BIG CLUB WHEAT (*Triticum compactum humboldtii*)

This wheat, variously known as Big Four, Chile Club, Salt Lake Club, Montezuma Club, and Oregon Club, was found only at the Sonoma Mission, but this occurrence establishes a new date for its introduction into California, and places it definitely among the mission crops. The earliest previous record which we have had on this wheat in California was the statement of Dunn⁴, cited by Clark², to the effect that it was grown in California as early as 1866, but this date may now be set back to the building of the Sonoma Mission 1824-1830.

At this writing, Big Club wheat is grown in Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Utah, and Washington, but in California it is rarely found pure, although it is frequently found as an impurity in Little Club. The finding of it in mixture with Little Club in Sonoma suggests that it was also present as an impurity at an earlier day. The origin and introduction of the pure strain of this variety is still a matter of conjecture.

CALIFORNIA CLUB WHEAT (*Triticum compactum erinaceum*)

No wheat bearing this name or corresponding with our specimens of it is grown in California today, nor has any trace of it in the form of a mixture with other varieties survived from the Spanish period. It has been found only at the Missions La Soledad, San José, and San Juan Bautista, from which it would seem that it disappeared from cultivation in California prior to the Mexican period (1822-1846). The only previous reference to a wheat of this character in California is that by Horace Davis³:

“the wheat grown in California at the time of the American occupation was a bearded red variety known as California Club, which has disappeared from cultivation”

and it is from this statement that we have appropriated the name “California Club,” and assumed that the bearded, red-chaffed, hairy-rachis club wheat which we found at Soledad, San José, and San Juan Bautista is the variety referred to by Davis.

PROPO WHEAT (*Triticum vulgare graecum*)

This well known California wheat, which was found at the Missions San Antonio de Padua, La Soledad, San José, San Juan Bautista, and at the ranchos El Sansal, La Natividad, and Vallejo, corresponds in all of its morphological characters with its modern descendant, and the finding of it in these places must necessitate a revision of our ideas regarding its introduction into California. Reed⁸ attributes the origin of Propo to a field selection made by Mr. Proper at Sutter Station in about 1875, and Mr. Shackelford of Paso Robles, as cited by Shaw¹⁰, believed that the original seed from which this selection was made was an importation from Chile, first grown in San Benito County in about 1870, and later distributed in Sutter County.

While these accounts of the introduction of Propo wheat into California are doubtless authentic, they may, in the face of the findings here reported, be regarded only as evidence of a second introduction of this wheat into California, and coupled with this, the finding of it in the rancho buildings (1834-1837)—built only thirty-three years before the reported Chilean importation (1870)—make it seem probable that the original Spanish stock has persisted to the present day. This supposition is reinforced by the finding of red Propo kernels, differing in this particular from the present day Propo, C. I. No. 1970, which possesses white kernels. Some of this red strain is still present in California grown Propo, and the senior author has isolated it and grown it as a pure variety. In these circumstances it seems probable that Mr. Proper's selection in 1875 may well account for the origin of the present

day white Propo, and that the Spanish Propo may have been all red or a mixture of white and red types, one or both of which have persisted to the present day.

The Spanish varietal name of this wheat, like that of all other mission cereals, is unknown to us.

AN UNKNOWN BEARDLESS WHEAT (*Triticum vulgare albidum*)

Remains of a smooth chaff beardless wheat resembling the well known Pacific Blue Stem (White Australian) but differing from it in some morphological characteristics, such as beak and shoulder conformation, were found in the La Soledad, San Juan Bautista, and Sonoma missions, but the small amount of such material suggests that it was present only as a mixture or impurity in other wheat varieties.

SONORA WHEAT (*Triticum vulgare delphi*)

The introduction of this popular California variety has often been ascribed to the Spanish missionaries, but since no trace of it has been found in any of the mission structures, our evidence does not confirm this view, and for this reason we are disposed to regard it as a later acquisition to the crop resources of the state.

COAST (Common California) BARLEY (*Hordeum vulgare pallidum typica*)

Abundant remains of this popular present day barley were found in all of the missions examined and in two of the three rancho buildings dating from the Mexican period (1822-1846). Moreover, it is the only barley variety found, and was probably the only variety grown during the early history of the state. It corresponds in type with present day North African and Spanish varieties, and was doubtless a direct importation from the old world by the Spaniards.

WILD OAT (*Avena fatua*)

A solitary wild oat kernel of doubtful authenticity was found in an adobe brick taken from the pulpit stair (under restoration 1924) of the Mission San Juan Bautista, and the records indicate that this stair was built between 1805-1813, so that this find constitutes so far as we are aware the earliest circumstantial evidence of the presence of this introduced plant in California. The specimen was verified by Stanton and Coffman, oat specialists of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and while the specimen is not perfect, the opinion was expressed that it might have been *Avena fatua*.

Considering the abundance of weed seeds of other kinds in all of the mission structures, it is difficult to account for the entire absence of wild oats—with this doubtful exception—except upon the grounds that its wide distribution in California has occurred at a comparatively recent date.

(*Avena sterilis byzantiana*)

Oat seeds representative of this species were found in the walls of the Mission San José de Guadalupe, also in the Rancho Vallejo, and these finds constitute the first evidence of the Spanish introduction of this type of oats into California. This is the group to which the Common California Red Oat belongs, also the Burt, and it is the oat extensively grown in, and thought to be indigenous to, the Mediterranean region.

(*Avena sativa*)

The finding of this oat in the walls of the Rancho Vallejo was wholly unexpected, since it represents a group of oats not adapted to, or now grown in, central California, and therefore may represent an early unsuccessful agricultural experiment. It is the species widely grown and probably indigenous to central and northern Europe and to the British Isles, and includes such well known varieties as Kherson, Canadian, Silvermine, Lincoln, and Winter Turf. It is also now grown sparingly in the mountainous regions of northern California.

FIELD BEAN (*Phaseolus vulgaris*)

A single bean specimen was found in a brick fragment taken from the Mission La Soledad, but the seed coat was so darkened with age that the variety could not be positively identified. It corresponds exactly in shape and size with two of our present day varieties, the Red Mexican and the Pink, the former of which is thought by Hendry⁷ to be of Mexican origin and the latter to have been introduced by the Spaniards.

CARROT (*Daucus carota*) and WATERMELON (*Citrullus vulgaris*)

The finding of seeds of these two common crops in the walls of the Natividad Rancho merely supplies positive evidence that these two common vegetables were grown in California at least as early as 1837.

SEEDLING OLIVE (*Olea europea*)

Small olive pits, distinctly different from those of the mission variety, were found at San Fernando, Soledad, and at Natividad, and

this suggests that the mission variety may be a later accession to our crop resources, although it seems certain, judging from the mission olive trees still growing and bearing in the mission gardens, that it too was introduced by the Spaniards.

THE GARDEN PEA (*Pisum sativum*)

The finding of this type of pea at Sonoma points to the conclusion that the pea crop referred to in the mission reports corresponds with our present day field and garden varieties rather than to varieties of the vetch group.

WEED INTRODUCTION

Thirty-two different native and introduced weeds were identified, and eleven of these, as listed below, are recognized by botanists as introduced European species.

- Napa Thistle (*Centaurea melitensis*)
- Wild Mustard (*Brassica* sp.)
- Wild Mustard (*Sisymbrium* sp.)
- Red-stem Filaree (*Erodium cicutarium*)
- Sowbane (*Chenopodium murale*)
- Prickly Sow-Thistle (*Sonchus asper*)
- Cheese-weed (*Malva parviflora*)
- Wild Lettuce (*Lactuca* sp.)
- Wild Oat (*Avena fatua*)
- Curly Dock (*Rumex crispus*)
- Carrot (*Daucus carota*)

The mere finding of these plants does not prove that they were introduced by the missions, but when the same weed occurs repeatedly in widely separated localities, and when it is remembered that many of these weeds characteristically follow in the wake of cultivation, it would seem that the missions must have played an important part in their dissemination, if not in their actual introduction.

EARLY INTRODUCTION OF THE NAPA THISTLE

Good specimens of the fruit of the Napa thistle (*Centaurea melitensis*) were found in the ruins of the adobe building on the Natividad grant, which was probably erected prior to 1840. This naturalized European plant, which has become one of the most objectionable weed pests in many parts of the state, has previously been regarded as a more recent introduction, and a popular theory regarding it has been that it gained its first foothold in the state through the unloading of

ships "in ballast" in the vicinity of Vallejo, from whence it spread through Napa County and other parts of the state. But this finding establishes the fact that the weed has existed in the state since before 1840, and would seem to relieve Napa County from the onus of its introduction, and it is suggested that those public-spirited Napa citizens who have hitherto been dissatisfied with the name Napa thistle might henceforth apply to it with propriety the name Natividad thistle.

THE MAKING OF ADOBE BRICKS

SOILS USED IN BRICK MAKING

Bricks from five different structures were subjected to mechanical analysis, and the soils of which they were composed classified into their soil types with the following result:

Mission La Soledad.....	fine sandy loam
Rancho El Sansal.....	loam
Mission San Juan Bautista.....	heavy loam
Rancho Vallejo	heavy loam
Mission San Antonio de Padua.....	heavy loam

The Soledad bricks are made from the natural soil of the locality, but the others bear evidence of artificial mixing. Frequently pure adobe soil was at hand, but this material when utilized was invariably mixed with sand until it became a loam in texture. This was to avoid shrinkage and warping in drying, and such mixtures became apparent upon analysis by the abnormal combinations of soil particles not met with in nature. With some further study it would be feasible to determine by mechanical analysis exactly what proportions soils of different kinds should be mixed in order to make satisfactory sun-dried brick, and such studies are now in progress by the Division of Agricultural Engineering of the University of California.

The usual method consists of making a few sample bricks from the natural soil, and if these warp too much in drying, sandy soil is added until the bricks dry uniformly and smoothly, and this "mix" is then maintained as nearly as possible throughout the brick making operation. Rectangular wooden molds are used to shape the bricks, and these resemble a large cigar box with the lid and bottom removed, and usually measure about 4 x 11 x 22 inches. The thick mud, about the consistency of plaster, mixed with finely chopped straw or other organic refuse, is pressed into these molds and the bricks so formed dried in the sun until hard. The mud remains in the molds for a few minutes only, and the bricks must dry for a time, lying flat, before they become stiff enough to set up on edge in open ventilated piles.

ORGANIC MATERIAL USED IN BRICK MAKING

While all of the bricks examined contained organic matter chopped into about two inch lengths, the actual amount used varied greatly, not only in different structures but between different bricks within the same structure. As between different structures, a relatively larger proportion of organic matter was used in those made from the lighter textured soils. The function of the organic material appears to be chiefly that of a binder, but it must also serve to promote uniformity in drying and reduce warping in the heavy textured soils.

Wheat and barley straw constituted the favorite organic material, but many other substances were employed, the choice apparently being determined by whatever was available at different seasons. Weeds of all kinds were extensively used, particularly those with fibrous stems, such as wild rye, sedges, tules, filaree, tarweeds, and various grasses, but the finding of other miscellaneous materials suggests that much of the general refuse from the mission was also utilized.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writers are indebted to Professor P. B. Kennedy, Agrostologist of the California Agricultural Experiment Station; J. A. Clark, F. R. Stanton, and F. A. Coffman, Agronomists of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and to Professor F. T. Bioletti, Viticulturist of the California Experiment Station, for assistance in the identification of seeds and plant remains; to Friar Zephyrin Engelhart, Order of Franciscan Monks, and Dr. O. C. Coy of the State Historical Association, for access to mission documents; to Professor Chas. F. Shaw, Soil Technologist in the California Experiment Station, for mechanical analyses of adobe bricks; and to the various caretakers and curators of the historic edifices examined for assistance in collecting material.

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DOCUMENTARY

THE FRÉMONT EPISODE

[Frémont's letter to Pacheco regarding stolen animals]

[*Daily Alta California*, San Francisco, June 15, 1866]

CAMP NEAR ROAD TO SANTA CRUZ

February 21, 1846.

SIR: I received your communication of the 20th, informing me that a complaint had been lodged against me in your office for refusing to deliver up certain animals of my band, which are claimed as having been stolen from this vicinity about *two months* since; and that the plaintiff further complains of having been insulted in my camp.

It can be proven on oath by thirty men here present, that the animal pointed out by the plaintiff has been brought in my band from the United States of North America. The insult of which he complains, and which was authorized by myself, consisted in his being ordered immediately to leave the camp. After having been detected in endeavoring to obtain animals under false pretenses, he should have been well satisfied to escape without a severe horse-whipping.

There are four animals in my band which were bartered from the Tulare Indians by a division of my party which descended the San Joaquin Valley. I was not there present, and if any more legal owners present themselves, these shall be immediately delivered upon proving property. It may save some trouble to inform you that, with this exception, all the animals in my band have been purchased and paid for. Any further communications on this subject will not, therefore, receive attention. You will readily understand that my duties will not permit me to appear before the magistrates of your towns on the complaint of every straggling vagabond who may chance to visit my camp. You inform me that unless satisfaction be immediately made by the delivery of the animals in question, the complaint will be forwarded to the Governor. I would beg you at the same time to give to his Excellency a copy of this note.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. C. FRÉMONT, U. S. Army.

TO SR. DON DOLORES PACHECO, (Alcalde of San José.)

General Castro to the Minister of War of Mexico, March 6, 1846

[From *The Illustrated History of Yolo County, Cal.*, De Pue & Co., S. F., 1879, pp. 14-15.]

In my communication of the 5th instant, I announced to you the arrival of a Captain at the head of 50 men, who came, as he said, by order of the Government of the United States to survey the limits of Oregon. This person presented himself at my headquarters some days ago, accompanied by two individuals, (Thos. O. Larkin Consul, and Captain Wm. A. Leidesdorff, Vice Consul,) with the object of asking permission to procure provisions for his men, that he had left in the mountains; which was given to him. But two days ago I was much surprised at being informed that this person was only two days' journey from this place (Monterey). In consequence I immediately sent him a communication, ordering him, on the instant of its receipt, to put himself on the march and leave the department; but I have not received an answer, and in order to make him obey in case of resistance, I sent a force to observe their operations, and to-day, the 6th, I march in person to join it and to see that the object is attained. The hurry with which I undertake my march does not permit me to be more diffuse, and I beg that you will inform his Excellency, the President, assuring him that not only shall the national integrity of this party be defended with the enthusiasm of good Mexicans, but those who attempt to violate it will find an impregnable barrier in the valor and patriotism of every one of the Californians. Receive the assurance of my respect etc. God and Liberty.

JOSE CASTRO.

To the Minister of War and Marine.
Monterey, March 6th, 1846.

[José to Manuel Castro from Tucho Rancho, March 7, 1846]

[Translation from Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. V, p. 12, who quotes it from Hittell, *Papeles Hist. de 1846*, MS. 3]

Capt. Frémont came down this morning with 40 men in search of La Torre's party, advising some rancheros not to join either side. It is a declaration. If you can move some force, take the Pájaro road to S. Juan. If not, join Narvaez, to whom I send an order to quarter all the men he can in the govt house, securing the artillery.

Yours, etc.

JOSE CASTRO.

Bill of Oliver Beaulieu to Captain Frémont

[From the Original in the Leidesdorff Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library]

Captain Fremont.		Dr
1846. To Oliver Beaulieu.		
Jany. 17 th To	6 Sides saddle Leather @ \$5.00.....	30.00
18 th —	3 ditto upper ditto @ 5.00.....	15.00
—	2 “ sole— “ @ 5.00.....	10.00
	Charles Toplin's a/c.....	6 50
	Two Shaunies—a/c 2 Pr Shoes.....	7.00
	Scott. 1 Pair shoes.....	3.50
	Finly 1 ditto ditto.....	3.50
	Dick Owns [Owens] 1 Pr.....	3.50
	Jacob 1 “.....	3.50
	Alexis Godaire [Godey] 1 Pr ditto.....	3.50
	Bazile Lajeunesse's a/c.....	14.00
		<hr/> \$100.00

SONOMA

8th MARCH

1846

[Manuel Castro to Larkin regarding Frémont's activities near Monterey]

[Documentos para la Historia de California, Tom. III, No. 286. Bancroft Library.]
[Original]

El infrascrito Pref^o. De este Distrito ha recibido la nota del Sor Consul de los Estados Unidos del Norte D. Tomas O Larkin de fha. 6 del que rige y en contestacion tiene el honor de decirle: que muy lejos de responder en ella que mandará al Capitan de Ejercito de los E. U. del Norte D. J C Fremont que salga inmediate^{te}. con su fuerza armada ó tropa (segun la acepcion de la palabra campamento de que el usa en comunicacion) fuera de los limites deste Departam^{to}. faltando á los principios establecidos entre las Naciones civilizadas, apoya su injusta introduccion.

El infrascrito al ordenar al Capitan Fremont que retrocediera su marcha ha llevado por fundamento las repetidas decretas y ordenes del Gob^{no}. de la Republica Mejicana p^a. que no se permita la introduccion de tropa alguna de otra potencia ni aun de estrangeros que no vengan provistos con los pasaportes correspondientes y no rumores falsos ó apariencias engañosas. como el Sor Consul de los E. U. del Norte sienta en su dicha nota— El infrascrito ofrece al S^{or}. Consul de los

Estados Unidos que en cuanto le toque hará que los que citén sugetos á las leyes del Pais y acaso injurian á los subditos de su nacion que estan bajo la proteccion de las mismas previas las pruebas necessarias ó formalidades de dro se castiguen con arreglo á ellas.

El infrascrito hace presente—al Sor Consul de los Estados Unidos

[The rest of this document is missing. However, a contemporary translation of the complete document is given below.]

[Translation from Larkin's Official Correspondence II, p. 148. Bancroft Library.]

Prefecture of the 2nd District

The undersigned Prefect of this District has received the note of the Counsel [Consul] of the U. S. Don Thomas O. Larkin dated 6th inst.¹ and in answer thereto has the honor to say that far from replying in it that he will order the Captain of the U. S. Army J C Fremont to leave immediately with his force of armed troops, according to the expectation [acceptation] of the word Camp which he uses in his communication, from the limits of this department transgressing the principles established amongst civilized nations, he defends his unjust introduction. The undersigned when he ordered Capt. Fremont to march back founded himself on repeated orders and decrees of the Supreme Government of the Mexican Republic which prohibit the introduction not only of troops belonging to any power, but even that of foreigners who do not come provided with legal passports and not on false reports and false appearances as the Counsel of the U.S. says in his said note The undersigned promises the Consul of the U.S. that as far as lays [lies] in his power those persons who are subject to the laws of the Country and may harass the subjects of his Nation who are under the protection of said laws, shall be punished according to the same after the necessary proof shall be given and the Customary formalities gone through, the undersigned makes known to the Consul of the U.S. that if he desires to avoid that the force of Captain Freemont may come to an unfortunate end meeting with the force of this department, he ought to inform said Captain Fremont that since he entered this department with an armed force, whether through malice or error he must now either blindly obey the authorities or on the contrary experience the misfortunes which he has sought by his crimes

The undersigned reiterates assurances of his highest regards &c &c

Monterey March 8th 1846.
To Thomas O Larkin
U. S. Consul Monterey

God and Liberty
MANUEL C. CASTRO.

¹ Printed in *Quarterly*, III, pp. 278-279.

[Diaz to Castro requesting news of Frémont]

[Castro, Documentos para la Historia de California, Tom. II, 37. Bancroft Library.]

[Original]

S. D. Manuel Castro

Monterey Mro. 10/46

Mi ap^e. Amigo, Despues de su salida no ha ocurrido novedad; los vecinos siguen dando guardias todas las noches y si las circunstancias lo exijieren tomaremos providencias que nos pongan acubierto de una sorpresa.

Estamos deseosos de que nos informe V del verdadero estado de las cosas.

Hoy a escrito Larkin al Capⁿ. Fremond, transcribiendole (segun dice) la ultima comunicacion de V. Prudencio Espinosa fue el conductor y le previno q. antes de llebarla al Capⁿ. Fremond se presentare a V. q^e. dispusiese lo q tuviese p^r. comb^{te}.

Con Arce ban dos mulas pertenecientes a uno q vino con los Padres y q ayer salio con V. [Illegible] se las mande entregar.

Todos creen q habiendo una conferencia se arreglaran todas las diferencias con Fremond y este paso cualesquiera que fuese su resultado justificaria enteramente las medidas q despues se jusgase necesario adoptar—

Queda de V. Affmo. am^{igo}. y S. S. Q. B. S. M.

MANUEL DIAZ

[Rubric]

[Translation]

Monterey, March 10, 1846

Señor Don Manuel Castro.

My esteemed Friend: Since your departure nothing new has occurred; the citizens keep on standing guard every night, and if circumstances should demand it we will take measures to make ourselves secure against a surprise.

We wish that you would inform us of the true state of affairs.

To-day Larkin wrote to Captain Fremont², transmitting to him (so he says) your last communication. Prudencio Espinosa was the conveyor [of the letter], and I told him that before he took it to Captain Fremont he should present himself to you, so that you could take such steps as you saw fit.

Two mules go with Arce which belong to a person who came with

² Printed in *Quarterly*, III, p. 286.

the padres and who set out with you yesterday. [Illegible] order that they be given to him.

Everybody believes that if a conference is held all differences with Fremont will be adjusted, and this step, whatever its result may be, will justify entirely any measures that it may be judged necessary to adopt later.

I am your most affectionate friend and faithful servant who kisses your hands.

MANUEL DIAZ

[Rubric]

[Diaz to Castro regarding communications with Frémont]

[Documentos para la Historia de California, Tom. III, No. 134. Bancroft Library.]

[Original]

Jusgado 1º. Const¹

Segun participe a VS, ayer di un pasaporte a Prudencio Espinosa, que pasaba al Campo del Capⁿ. Fremont con Correspondencia oficial del S. Consul de E. U^s. Al pedir me este Sor el Pasaporte me manifesto que iba atrascibir al mencionado Capⁿ Fremont la ultima comunicacion de VS. y como ayer en la noche regreso el correo, deseoso de averiguar algo acerca de las intenciones del Capⁿ. Fremont suplique el S Larkin me diese copia de la contestacion q habia recibido y tengo el honor de acompañarla a VS en copia certificada igualmente que un tanto dela carta con que me la remitio.

A Prudencio Espinosa habia yo prevenido se viese con VS. antes de llebar al Capⁿ. Fremont la correspondencia del S Larkin—pero no lo hiso asi.

Protesto á VS mi respetuosa consideracion y aprecio, Dios y Libertad Monterey Mro 11. 1846

MAN¹ DIAZ

[Rubric]

S. Prefecto de este Distrito }
D Manuel Castro }

[Translation]

First Constitutional Court of Justice.

As I informed your worship, I gave yesterday a passport to Prudencio Espinosa, who went to the camp of Captain Fremont with official correspondence from the United States Consul. When this gentleman asked me for the passport he told me he was going to deliver to the aforesaid Captain Fremont the last communication of your

worship; and as the mail arrived yesterday in the night, wishing to learn something about the intentions of Captain Fremont, I begged Señor Larkin to give me a copy of the reply³ which he had received, and I have the honor to enclose to your worship a certified copy of it, together with a copy of the letter with which he sent it to me.⁴

I had warned Prudencio Espinosa to see you first before taking the correspondence of Señor Larkin to Captain Fremont—but he did not do so.

I assure your worship of my respectful consideration and regard.

God and Liberty, Monterey, March 11, 1846.

MANUEL DIAZ

Sub-prefect of this district.

Manuel Castro.

[Guerrero to Vallejo transmitting Castro's Summons to the People of the North]

[Vallejo, Documentos para la Historia de California, Tom. XII, No. 189.]

[Original]

Sub Prefectura
del 2º Distº.

Con esta fha; he recibido de la Prefectura del Distº. lo que Copio.

"El capitan de ejercito de los E. Unidos del Norte D. J. C. Fremont; violando injustam^{te} nuestras leyes; se ha introducido hasta estas cercanias con una fuerza armada; y habiendo sido requerido por esta prefectura demi cargo; y por la Comandancia Gral; para que inmediatamente saliere de los limites del Departamento; no solo no ha obedecido esta determinacion; sino que poniendo desde luego su fuerza en accion hostil; ha tremolado el Pabellon de su Nacion en una altura de la sierra del Gavilan; queriendo ejercer arbitrariamente su dominio sobre todos los Pueblos del distrito; y comprometido altam^{te}. como autoridad primera politica de este, a hacer cumplir las leyes de la Republica Mejicana a que tengo el honor de pertenecer; y a defender a todo trance, la integridad, y libertad de nuestro territorio; me he visto en el indispensable caso de exitar el patriotismo, y de exigir a los ciudadanos de estos puntos; se reunan en este de San Juan, como cuartel General, a aumentar las filas de los valientes soldados que a la disposicion de la Command^a- Gral, estan resueltos a sacrificar su existencia, antes que permitir se ultrage a la Republica Mejicana, y sufrir la opresion de una fuerza estrangera de una nacion enemiga. En igual y justo deber, se

³ Frémont's letter of March 9 was printed in the *Quarterly*, III, p. 282.

⁴ Printed in *Quarterly*, III, pp. 286-287.

hallan todos los funcionarios publicos y habitantes del partido del cargo de V.; y anombre de la Patria; le prevengo, que inmediatamente reuna los de esa jurisdiccion de S. Francisco, que no esten impedidos legalment; dejando un encargado de su confianza; se pondra V. en marcha para el Pueblo de S. Jose Guadalupe; donde manifestando á los jueces esta nota; para que lo hagan á los vecinos; les exijirá, de acuerdo con ellos; el auxilio personal de armas, municiones &c que hoy demanda el orden publico e integridad de la Nacion; con cuya fuerza; y la que llamará tambien de la contra costa; se esperará á V. en este lugar, para perseguir desde luego a la enemiga; advirtiendole que cualquiera persona que se niegue ó fomite la discordia de algun modo, se deberá tener por traidor á la patria y castigar como convenga. Dios y Libertad—S Juan B^{ta} Marzo. 10. de 1846—Manuel Castro”

Lo que tengo el honor de comunicar á V.S. para que los jueces de las fronteras obren de acuerdo, con la comand^a Gral. de la Linea del Norte de su mando; ofreciendole a la vez las consideraciones de mi aprecio y respetos.

Dios y Libertad—Yerbabuena, Marzo 11 de 1846

FRANCO GUERRERO

[Rubric]

Sor Comand^{te} Gral. de la Linea del N^{te}. }
Don Mariano G Vallejo }

[Translation]

Sub-prefecture of the
2d district.

On this date I have received from the prefecture a communication of which I enclose the following copy:

“The captain of the army of the United States of the North, Don J. C. Frémont, unjustly violating our laws, has introduced himself into this vicinity with an armed force; and although he was requested by this prefecture in my charge and by the Comandancia General to immediately depart from the limits of the Department, he has not only not obeyed this order, but, placing his force at once in a hostile attitude, he unfurled the standard of his nation on a height of the Sierra del Gavilan, attempting to arbitrarily impose his dominion over all the towns of the district. I, having highly engaged myself, as the first political authority of this district, to carry out the laws of the Mexican Republic, to which I have the honor to belong, and to defend at all hazards the integrity and liberty of our territory, have found myself unavoidably obliged to call upon patriotism, and to require the citizens of these points to assemble at San Juan, as general headquarters, to

augment the ranks of the brave soldiers who, at the order of the Comandancia General, are resolved to sacrifice their lives rather than permit an outrage upon the Mexican Republic and to suffer the oppression of a foreign force belonging to an enemy nation. In equal observance of their duty are all the public functionaries and inhabitants of the district in your charge. In the name of our native country I direct you to immediately assemble those of that jurisdiction of San Francisco who are not legally exempt. Leaving some person in whom you have confidence in charge, you will set out on the march to the Pueblo of San José Guadalupe, where, after showing this note to the judges, so that they may show it to the citizens, you will require of them, with their consent and agreement, the personal aid in arms, munitions, etc., which is to-day demanded by the public order and the integrity of the nation. With that force and that which you will also call from Contra Costa, you will be awaited in this place, in order to pursue the enemy immediately. Let it be noted than any person who refuses his aid or foments discord in any manner must be regarded as a traitor to his country and punished as may be thought best. God and Liberty—San Juan Bautista. March 10, 1846. Manuel Castro."

I have the honor of communicating this to your worship, so that the judges of the frontier may act in accord with the Comandancia General of the Northern Line of its command. I offer you at the same time the expression of my consideration and respect.

God and Liberty—Yerbabuena, March 11, 1846.

FRANCISCO GUERRERO

[Rubric]

Comandante General of the
Northern Line, Don Mariano G. Vallejo.

[Archives of San José, Loose Papers, p. 25. Translation of a copy in the Bancroft Library.]

1846, March 12, San Juan Bautista (General Headquarters)
Comandante General José Castro—to the 1st or 2nd alcalde of San José, in regard to movements of Captain Fremont and his flight.

I enclose to you the proclamation published in the towns of the Department as a result of the movement caused by the bold adventurers who dared to raise the flag of their nation in their camp, and who fled like cowards at sight of the 200 patriots who were resolved to chastise their audacity.

[Id. p. 35. Copy.]

*1846 Mzo 12 San Juan B^{ta}.**Prefecto Mⁱ Castro—al 1^{er}. Juez de Paz de Sⁿ. José, Dolores Pacheco—sobre las operaciones militares contra Fremont.*

El Capⁿ. J. C. Fremont que se hallaba acampado con su fuerza en una cima de la Sierra del Gavilan, viendo seguram^{te}. el entusiasmo y decision con que se preparaban en su contra los hijos del pais, se ha retirado repentinamente abandonando la fortifⁿ. que habia formado, y en consecuencia de esto el Sr Comand^{te}. Gen. ha dispuesto que los ciud^s. que estaban ya con las armas en la mano, se retirasen al seno de sus familias. En esta virtud, dando V. previam^{te}. las debidas gracias á los individuos de ese pueblo que se hallan alistado á la defensa de la integridad nacional, les manifestará V—que pueden retirarse a sus negocios particulares, esperando esta Prefectura que cuando llegue la vez, se presten con el mismo objeto, á cuya causa cooperará siempre el que suscribe.

[Translation]

*1846, March 12, San Juan Bautista.**Prefect Manuel Castro—to the 1st justice of the peace of San José, Dolores Pacheco, in regard to the military operations against Fremont.*

Captain J. C. Fremont, who was encamped with his force on a height of the Gavilan Ridge, seeing, supposedly, the enthusiasm and determination with which the sons of the country were preparing to repel him, has retreated, suddenly abandoning the fortifications he had built; and in consequence of this the Comandante General has ordered that the citizens who had already taken up arms shall retire to the bosoms of their families. In virtue of this, you, after having previously thanked the individuals of that pueblo who were enlisted in defense of the national integrity, will inform them that they may return to their private affairs, this prefecture hoping that when the occasion arises they will lend themselves with the same object, in which cause the undersigned will always cooperate.

[Castro's Proclamation of March 13, 1846]

[Vallejo, Documentos para la Historia de California, XXXIV, 186. Bancroft Library.]

[Original]

El Ciudadano José Castro Teniente Coronel de Caballeria del ejército Mejicano y Comandante General Ynterino del Departamento de Californias.

CONCIUDADANOS: Una porcion de bandoleros que sin respetar las leyes, ni autoridades del Departam^{to}. osadamente se hán introducido en el paiz acaudillados por el Capitan de Ejercito de los Estados Unidos Dⁿ J. C. Fremot, hán desovedecido las ordenes de esta Comand^a Gral. y Prefectura del segundo Distrito, en las que se prevenia á dho. gefe que inmediatam^{te}. emprendiese su marcha fuera de los limites de nuestro Territorio, y sin contestar dhas. notas por escrito, y solo de palabra, mandó decir el espresado Capitan que en la Sierra del Gabilan estaba preparado para resistir á las fuerzas que las autoridades mandasen atacarlo, las providencias consiguientes de esta Comand^a gral. y la Prefectura, poniendo en accion todos los elementos posibles, dieron por resultado á la vista de docientos patriotas, que abandonó el Campo que ocupava, dejando en él alguna ropa y otros utiles de guerra, y segun informan los esploradores tomó el rumbo de los tulares: Compatriotas la accion de haber enarbolado en la Serrania el Pabellon Americano los insultos y amenazas proferidos contra las autoridades del paiz son dignos de la execracion y odio de los Mejicanos, preparaos pues para hacer la defenza de nuestra independencia, para que unidos repelemos con mano fuerte el atrevim^{to}. de hombres ingratos que recibiendo todos los testimonios de una verdadera hospitalidad en nuestro paiz corresponden con tanta ingratitud á los bienes que se adquieran por nuestras cordialidad y benevolencia.

Cuartel General en San Juan B^{ta} á 13 de Marzo de 1846.

JOSÉ CASTRO
[Rubric]

[Translation from H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 19]

Fellow-citizens—a party of highwaymen who, without respecting the laws or authorities of the department, boldly entered the country under the leadership of Don J. C. Frémont, captain in the U. S. army, have disobeyed the orders of this comandancia general and of the prefecture of the 2d district, by which said leader was notified immediately to march beyond the bounds of our territory; and without replying to the said notes in writing, the said captain merely sent a verbal message

that on the Sierra del Gavilan he was prepared to resist the forces which the authorities might send to attack him. The following measures of this command and of the prefecture, putting in action all possible elements, produced as a result that he at the sight of 200 patriots abandoned the camp which he occupied, leaving in it some clothing and other war material, and according to the scouts took the route to the Tulares. Compatriots, the act of unfurling the American flag on the hills, the insults and threats offered to the authorities, are worthy of execration and hatred from Mexicans; prepare, then, to defend our independence in order that united we may repel with a strong hand the audacity of men who, receiving every mark of true hospitality in our country, repay with such ingratitude the favors obtained from our cordiality and benevolence.

Headquarters at San Juan Bautista, March 13, 1846.

[Guerrero to Castro regarding Frémont's retirement from the Gavilan]

[Castro, Documentos para la Historia de California, Tom. II, No. 49. Bancroft Library.]

[Original]

Sierra Morena, March 14, 1846.

Señor Don Manuel Castro.

Ahora que son las tres dela tarde, acabo de recibir su Carta de V. fha 12 del presente; enla q^l. me comunica el haverse retirado la fuerza armada estrangera, mandad^o. por el Capitan de Ejercito de E. U. D. J. C. Fremont los q^e. trataban de invadir nuestra integridad, y obstilitar nuestros Pueblos, y como bi la comunicacion oficial al Jues del Pueblo de S. Jose la q^e. dirijio con J. Jose de la Crus Sanches Junto con su carta de V. p^a. q^e. se retiraran los vecinos q^e. hubiesen auxiliado á tan importante suceso; se berificó luego, pues segun bi el entusiasmo q^e. habia en esta parte hiban conmigo entre hijos del pais y estrangeros Ciud^s. y algunos ingleses 92 sin contar con 38 q^e. trajo Estudillo, y estaban alistandose los del Pueblo; y habiendoles dado las gracias, les dije se mantubieran listos, pues lla heran dos atentados con este q^e. le habian echo al Depart^o. pues senti mucho no nos hubieramos visto p^a. perseguirlos pues yo llevaba bastante Caballada, porq^e. fuera delos q^e. tenian sus caballos propios; mandé echar realada con toda caballada util desconosida, y. p^a. dejar libres p^a. la guerra los vecinos q^e. se pusieren á cuidarla, llevaba indiada, buena p^a. q^e. se entendieran con ella; entre yo y mi compadre D. Fran^{co}. Sanchez, solicitamos del sub-prefector un poco de dinero p^a. comprar peltrechos de guerra por algunos

infelises q^e. no tenian nada, y para hir bien vistos de todo, y darle los auxilios á V. se pidio, y se nos nego enteramente, pues yo tomé lo hunico q^e. en este fondo habia de 9 p^s. 9r^s. p^a. polbora y balas, y las reparti; Aunque sin esto no faltaron recursos; Doy á V. conocim^{to}. y lo haré por oficio si V. me dise es de necesidad, pues saqué á todos los presos q^e. habia p^a. q^e. marcharan, disiendoles q^e. si se prestaban con toda su voluntad, y sin conocerles miedo ninguno, y dandole á V. parte, y asegun me comunicase, quedarian en libertad, y saliendo con nuestra empresa bolviesen á cometer otro delito seles recargaban los dos por lo q^e. quedaron conformes; y estar prontos al llado de cualquier serbicio; nosotros nos queriamos hallar por subir y plantar el pabellon Mejicano q^e. aqui lo llebamos y picar su hasta⁵ bandera q^e. me dicen la pusieron. Espero se mantenga V. bueno en union de todos los patriotas, quedando de V. su affmo. Q. B. S. M.

FRANCISCO GUERRERO

[Rubric]

P. D. El Sor. U. C. de S. M. B.
se ha comportado hasta hora
muy fino, entusias^{do}. por
nuestra Integridad.

[Translation]

Sierra Morena, March 14, 1846.

Señor Don Manuel Castro:

I have just now, at three o'clock in the afternoon, received your letter of the 12th of the present month, in which you inform me of the retirement of the armed foreign force commanded by the captain of the army of the United States, Don J. C. Fremont, who endeavored to invade our integrity and commit hostilities against our towns; and since I saw the official communication to the judge of the Pueblo of San Jose, which was sent by J. José de la Crus Sanches, together with your letter directing that the citizens who had aided in that very important event should be withdrawn, it was done immediately. Such was the enthusiasm that I saw in this part that there went with me, among sons of the country, foreign citizens and some Englishmen, 92, without counting 38 brought by Estudillo, and those of the Pueblo were enlisting. After thanking them, I told them to hold themselves in readiness, for with this last there had been two attempts made upon the Department. I regretted very much that we were not ready to pursue them

⁵ Possibly a coined word, from the verb *hastiar*, to loathe, to hate.

[the enemy], indeed I took along enough horses, for besides those who had their own mounts, I ordered a drove made up of all serviceable unclaimed animals, and in order to leave the citizens who undertook to take care of them free to fight, I took a good number of Indians to look after them. My compadre Don Francisco Sanches and I joined in soliciting from the sub-prefector a little money to buy a military outfit for some poor unfortunates who had nothing, and to go well prepared with everything to give you the aid asked for, but it was absolutely refused us, so I took the only money in this fund, 9 pesos 9 reales, for powder and ball, and divided them, although even without this, resources were not lacking. I bring to your knowledge—and I will do it officially if you tell me it is necessary—that I took all the prisoners that there were and set them on the march, telling them that if they would lend their aid with all good will, without showing fear and sharing with you, according to communications made to me, they would be set at liberty; but that if, when our enterprise should be completed, they should commit another crime, the two would be charged against them. They agreed to conform to this and to be ready at the call of any service. We wished we were prepared to go up and plant the Mexican standard which we brought here, and to tear down their hated flag which it is said they put there. I hope that you keep in good health in company with all the patriots, and I remain your most affectionate friend, who kisses your hands.

FRANCISCO GUERRERO

[Rubric]

Postscript. Señor U. C. of S. M. B.
has behaved well up to now,
being full of enthusiasm for
our integrity.

[General Vallejo's Midnight Proclamation]

[Vallejo, Documentos para la Historia de California, Tomo XII, No. 185. Bancroft Library.]

[Copy]

1846. *Sonoma Marzo 4* [14].

(Proclama del Comand^{te} General Mariano G. Vallejo á los habitantes de California en la que los llama á las armas para que rechazen al Capitan John C. Fremont)

Acaba de recibir esta Comandancia un parte oficial de que el Capitan norte americano Dⁿ Juan C Fremont ha tremolado en el cerro del gavilan la bandera de la usurpacion, amagando con la fuerza armada

que trajo, y los extranjeros que se le han unido, la invasion y conquista del Departamento.

En consecuencia todos los ciudadanos que sean, y se consideren acreedores al titulo de Mejicanos honrados, sin distincion ni excepcion otra que la infancia, vejez avanzada o impedimento fisico absoluto, se presentaran á este punto, como cuartel general de operaciones de la linea de mi mando, para proveer à los medios de defensa de nuestros hogares y familias, y salvacion de la honra e integridad nacional, nuevamente atacada por atrevidos aventureros sedientos de dominio y poder.

La denigrante nota de *infame y traidor à la patria* será el merecido baldon de los Mejicanos indignos que con culpable criminalidad cierran los ojos à la vista del peligro que amenaza à la nacion, y los oidos à los gritos de angustia que con voz lastimera lanza la patria oprimida, que, reclama en esta, su hora de peligro, los servicios de todos los buenos ciudadanos.

Esta Comandancia General de la linea del norte, de acuerdo con todas las autoridades áviles de la misma, se dirige à todos los habitantes de esta jurisdiccion, segura de que se manifestaran celosos defensores de la honra de nuestro glorioso pendon, asi como de la vida è intereses de todos los buenos ciudadanos; à quienes una faccion extranjera cobijada con el manto de la codicia pretende despojar.

Conciudadanos: el patriotismo, el deber y los vinculos sagrados que nos unen à la madre patria nos trazan el camino que debemos seguir: esta Comandancia General entrará resuelta en la lid; pues considera que todo sacrificio de sangre y recurso es insignificante cuando van de por medio la integridad y honra de la patria. Conciudadanos: nada os pido que sacrifiqueis; pues armas y caballos os seran suministrados:

solo exijo que esteis arma al hombro, listos à rechazar al atrevido invasor. ¿me dejareis luchar aislado?

Libertad è Independencia.

Sonoma marzo 4 de 1846.

(firmado) MARIANO G. VALLEJO.

(à las doce de la noche.)

[Translation]

1846, Sonoma, March 4 [14].

(Proclamation of Comandante General Mariano G. Vallejo to the inhabitants of California in which he calls them to arms to repulse Captain John C. Fremont.)

This Comandancia has just received official information that the

North American Captain, Don Juan C. Fremont, has raised on the Gavilan ridge the flag of usurpation, threatening with the armed force which he brought and foreigners who have joined it the invasion and conquest of the Department.

In consequence all citizens who may be or are considered worthy of the title of honorable Mexicans, without distinction or exception other than infancy, advanced age, or absolute physical impediment, shall present themselves at this point, as general headquarters of operations of the line under my command, for the purpose of providing a means of defense of our homes and families and the salvation of the national honor and integrity, newly attacked by daring adventurers thirsting for dominion and power.

The infamous stigma of *dishonor and treason to the fatherland* will be the merited mark of unworthy Mexicans who, with culpable criminality, close their eyes to the sight of the danger which threatens the nation, and their ears to the cries of anguish which, with mournful voice, the oppressed fatherland emits, while it claims in this, its hour of danger, the services of all good citizens.

This Comandancia General of the Northern Line, in accord with all the qualified authorities of the same, addresses itself to all the inhabitants of this jurisdiction, confident that they will show themselves zealous defenders of the honor of our glorious banner, as well as of the life and interests of all good citizens, whom a foreign faction, covered with the mantle of covetousness, is attempting to despoil.

Fellow citizens: Patriotism, duty, and the sacred bonds which unite us to the mother country trace out for us the road we ought to follow; this Comandancia will enter the struggle resolutely, for it considers that all sacrifice of blood and resources is insignificant when the integrity and honor of the fatherland are at stake. Fellow citizens: I do not ask you to sacrifice anything, for arms and horses will be supplied to you; I only ask that you will be, your arms on your shoulders, ready to repel the daring invader. Will you allow me to struggle alone?

Liberty and independence.

Sonoma, March 4, 1846.

(Signed) MARIANO G. VALLEJO.

(At twelve midnight)

[Guerrero to Vallejo regarding Frémont's retirement from the Gavilan]

[Vallejo, Documentos para la Historia de California, Tomo XII, No. 194. Bancroft Library.]

[Original]

Sub-Prefectura
del 2º Distrito

Habiendole á V. S. comunicado, lo acontecido, por medio de mi nota fha 11 del presente; respecto de la hostilacion que trataba de hacer el Capitan de ejercito de E. U. del Norte D. J. C. Fremont, por comunicacion; del Sor. Prefecto, me dice que el dia 12 de mismo abandonaron las fuerzas de dho Sor. el punto que tenian, sin saber el rumbo que habian tenido, en virtud de haber visto el entusiasmo de los hijos del pais.

Al comunicar a V.S esto ofrezco las consideraciones de mi respeto.

Dios y Libertad Sierra Morena Marzo 14 de 1846.

FRAN^{CO} GUERRERO

[Rubric]

Sor. Comand^{te}. Gral dela Linea }
del N. Don Mariano G. Vallejo }

[Translation]

Sub-prefecture of
the 2d district.

Since communicating to your worship what had happened by means of my note dated the 11th of the present month, in regard to the hostility attempted by the captain of the army of the United States of the North, Don J. C. Fremont, through a communication from the Señor Prefect I have learned that on the 12th of the same month the forces of the said Señor abandoned the point which they held, as a result of having seen the enthusiasm of the sons of the country.

In communicating this to your worship I offer you the highest expression of my respect.

God and Liberty—Sierra Morena, March 14, 1846.

FRANCISCO GUERRERO [Rubric]

General commander of the line of
the North, Don Mariano G. Vallejo.

[Communication]

[From the Leidesdorff Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library.]

[Original]

Vice Consulate of the United States
Of America Yerba buena March the 14th 1846

In Consequence of haveing received an official Document from the Subprefect of this District in relation to the present Difficulties I consider it My duty to inform you thereof and remit you a copy of his letters as also a copy of a letter written by Captain Fremont to T. O. Larkin Esqr the Bark Moscow Arrived here last evening from Monterey although his Clearance from Monterey was for Santa Barbara I found a bord of her an official Letter from T O Larkin Esqr to the Consul at Mazatlan⁶ which I forward you as the Captain of the Moscow wishes me to do so Knowing the object of the letter which I am told by said Captain is to request some One of our man of wars to come here as [soon as] possible

I am sorry that the Consul at Monterey has no oppertunity of Communicating to you On this Subject however as I forward you the letter intended for the Consul at Mazatlan I hope that it will answer our purpose hopeing to hear from You by return of this vessel

I remain

Your Obedient Sevt

[WILLIAM A. LEIDESDORFF]

⁶ Printed in *Quarterly*, III, pp. 284-285.

BOOK REVIEWS

The First Forty-Niner, and the Story of the Golden Tea-Caddy, by James A. B. Scherer, Former President of the California Institute of Technology. New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1925. 127 pp. port., illustrations.

In this story of Samuel Brannan, a New Englander who embraced Mormonism, led a pilgrimage to our shores and later became a chief factor in the development of the young San Francisco, Doctor Scherer has given us not only an informative book about one of the most interesting characters in our history, but, withal, a lively and entertaining one. He has gathered from original sources material passed over by our most frequently consulted historians, especially that relating to Mr. Brannan's last years when he had ceased to be an influential figure in California affairs. He has given many picturesque details which enliven the narrative without detracting from its historic importance, and has added quaint illustrations of life in San Francisco and at the mines. The book should serve to place Brannan in his rightful niche among the builders of San Francisco. His downfall in later life probably influenced our historians to give him less credit than is his due. Neither Bancroft nor Hittell seems to have recognized his initiating brain in many of the enterprises of the infant city.

With his colony of two hundred and thirty-eight Mormons (two born on the way), in a vessel fitted out in New York at his own expense, Brannan reached San Francisco Bay three weeks after Montgomery had raised the American flag in Portsmouth Square. Disappointed in his plan of securing the country for the Mormons, he seems to have swallowed his disappointment over night and thrown himself whole-heartedly into furthering the welfare of the small community. Most of his company followed his example. The little town of two hundred found its population suddenly doubled and its housing and tenting capacity strained to the utmost. Some took shelter three miles away at the Mission, and others, still clinging to their Mormon colonization scheme, crossed the bay, to explore the San Joaquin Valley for this purpose. Here Edwin Bryant encountered them, and in his book, *What I Saw in California*, spoke a word in their favor.

Both the men and women of Brannan's party fitted well into the life of Yerba Buena, as San Francisco was then called. They were industrious and their industry was needed. Many of the men were mechanics, and Brannan had stored his vessels with implements and tools. He brought also a printing press and type and in a few months had established the first newspaper of San Francisco; he brought the

machinery for two flour mills which were soon helping to feed the population. On Sundays he preached to his flock, and he is credited with having performed the first marriage ceremony in the settlement. He was a successful defendant in the first trial by jury; he was the moving spirit and chief organizer of the first Vigilance committee; he lent a generous hand to the first fire company; he organized the first charity and helped to organize the Society of California Pioneers. He was a member of the city council and later state senator. He was foremost in the repeated rebuilding of the city after six destructive fires and, finally, he led in importing dressed granite from China and other non-combustible building materials from the four quarters of the globe.

Long before this he, as well as most of his followers, were disconnected, or had disconnected themselves, from the Mormon church, the last link being severed when Brigham Young sent to Brannan an apostle to collect "the Lord's money" which Brannan had demanded as tithes from the Mormon miners. Brannan's answer was: "You go back and tell Brigham that I'll give up the Lord's money when he sends me a receipt signed by the Lord, and no sooner."

Not even San Francisco, with its fast-multiplying population after the gold discovery, gave scope enough to Brannan's energy, although he owned almost one-fifth of its area, including nearly all the property abutting on Market street. He had a flourishing general store in Sacramento and soon owned a fourth of that city. He bought and threw open to settlement one hundred and sixty thousand acres of land in Los Angeles County; he traded across the Pacific with China and Hawaii; he owned much property in Honolulu, and floated a huge bond issue for Mexican patriots, to enable them to throw off the yoke of Maximilian. But luck turned, or his judgment failed and he met his Waterloo in Napa Valley. He bought a vast tract of land there, planning to exploit the hot springs and make of Calistoga (a name coined by him) "the Saratoga of California." He poured his money lavishly into the enterprise, but the only part that paid was his distillery and that was his undoing. Soon it was common talk that he was seldom sober after midday. A stroke of paralysis seemed to set the seal upon his downfall; but near the close of his seventieth year, deserted by friends and dwelling in poverty, he achieved the greatest victory of his life. All unexpectedly Mexico paid him forty-nine thousand dollars as interest on his loan. With every cent he paid his debts; by sheer force of will he conquered his paralysis and drinking habits, and had life been spared to him a little longer he might have "come back" still farther; but he died that year penniless and, for want of money to bury him, his body lay in the receiving vault for a year. Finally, Alexander Bledon* (to whose

* Probably this was Alexander Badlam who was a nephew of Brannan.

memory be honor, whoever he may be!) bought in Mt. Hope cemetery, San Diego, a plot large enough for a grave. There his body lies today and, to the shame of San Francisco, marked only by a small wooden stake; indeed, to the shame of all California, for, though Samuel Brannan was one of the most notable figures in the development of early San Francisco, he also bore a hand in developing other parts of the state as well.

Doctor Scherer and Zoeth Eldredge differ as to the date and place of Brannan's death. Investigations made by Doctor Scherer since his book was published have convinced him that Mr. Eldredge had the correct date, but they corroborate his own statement of the place, Brannan's latest home having been Escondido in San Diego County, not Escondido, Mexico. The date, a few days earlier or later, matters little, but one is glad to believe that Brannan died in the state to whose up-building he gave the strength of his manhood.

The Golden Tea-Caddy?—You will have to read for yourself to see where that comes into the story, and the book will well repay the reader, whether he be the old-timer who knows his city, or the youth to whom its history is, but should not be, a blank.

HELEN THROOP PURDY.

The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California,
by Rexford Newcomb, M. A., M. Arch., A. I. A., Professor
of the History of Architecture in the University of Illinois.
Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1925,
vii+379 pp. Frontispiece and 241 illustrations. 4°.

This beautiful book is the product of six years of field work in California and thirteen years of research. It is valuable alike for the student of history and of architecture, and let no mere reader be frightened away by its special preparation for students. There are technical terms, to be sure, but the style is lucid, the narrative abounds in interest and the numerous illustrations make the book one of rare attractions. We have had so many books about the California missions that at first thought a new one seems superfluous, but we have never had one of the scope of this, nor one that was the product of such intensive study. The author, being a trained architect, brings to light many items in construction which the layman might overlook.

Professor Newcomb sketches in his background historically, the early discoveries on this coast, the missions of Mexico and Lower California under the different Orders, Jesuit, Dominican and Franciscan and, finally, the coming of the Franciscans to Upper California. He tells the story of the founding of each mission, of the work carried on by

each and of their products in converts and material things. He enumerates the valuable collections of relics to be found in some of the churches to-day, the paintings, rich vestments, silver vessels, books of early printing, mission records and other manuscripts. Unfortunately, after secularization articles of mission property were scattered, but some fell into the hands of the faithful and were later restored. The ancient caldrons, cooking vats, ovens and furnaces used for washing and in the preparation of food are still in place in some of the missions and testify to the executive ability of the padres in providing for their community life. The food provided for the Indians is described, their clothing and its manufacture, and other crafts which they were taught, also the varieties of fruit introduced by the padres which provided almost the only luxuries of their tables. One chapter is devoted to the building materials used in the churches, the different methods of construction are analyzed and mission architecture is traced back to its source in the cosmopolitan style of Spain.

Attention is called to the unique opportunity Americans have to study in these old mission churches monuments of foreign origin, without leaving their native soil. Beyond the alluring romance which clings to even the most ruined of the buildings, they speak to us in unmistakable language of the faith, will, energy and patience of the padres, who overcame almost infinite difficulties to build in an untrodden wilderness churches of so much artistic merit. Lacking mill and kiln and quarry, they taught the Indians to supply these needs and where seemingly essential materials were lacking, their fertile brains found substitutes. Under similar circumstances our Puritan ancestors of the Atlantic coast built rude houses of logs in which to worship. These men with infinite patience built massive walls of architectural beauty which, even through years of neglect and abuse, have endured more than a century and a quarter. Though the padres were not trained architects, as a rule they were the designers of the buildings. They had great veneration for the sacred buildings of their homeland, whether it was Spain or Mexico, and loving memories called their chief characteristics into being in whatever material they could find or create. With humble material and with unskilled Indian hands the padres wrought and from the complicated style of Spain they evolved one which, while highly suggestive of its origin, was perfectly adapted to its new environment, an admirable achievement. The qualities which call forth our admiration are principally massive simplicity, good proportion, structural frankness, with enough ornamentation to lend grace to the whole.

The specimens of early California domestic architecture which remain to us are fewer than the ecclesiastical and are less important

architecturally, though they are vivid historical object lessons of the days of Hispanic occupancy. They are not as old as the churches, though some of them have passed the century mark. They shared their frank simplicity. It was even their chief characteristic. For beauty the builders depended upon the central patio which, with its fountain, flowers and shrubbery, was a feature of most of the larger homes, and upon the verandas which were a feature of all. They breathe the sincerity, the hospitality, the leisurely comfort, and some of them the unassuming elegance, of the life once carried on under their roofs. In many charming views Professor Newcomb has depicted those old homes, a few still remaining in possession of the original families; others converted into museums or tea houses, or occupied by civic offices. The largest number of these houses is in and around Santa Barbara. It is hoped that the recent earthquake, so disastrous to taller buildings, spared these lower walls of honest solidity.

Of the homes described and pictured the most important are the De la Guerra y Noriega house in Santa Barbara and the Estudillo home, or so-called "Ramona's Marriage Place" in Old Town, San Diego. Both Richard H. Dana, in *Two Years Before the Mast*, and Alfred Robinson in *Life in California*, tell us of the De la Guerra home, of weddings, picnics, receptions and other hospitable scenes of which the old house (then new) was the background. As Alfred Robinson married a daughter of the house his connection with it was intimate.

The Estudillo house belonged to another prominent family of Spanish days and witnessed many scenes of hospitable entertainment. It was stripped and abandoned, but now, restored and refitted as a museum, is an interesting reminder of bygone times and a pleasant, care-free life. Although for advertising purposes the house is called "Ramona's Marriage Place," it needs no connection with Ramona's name to add to its interest. In its restoration it presents a charming picture and every foot of it is full of interest. George Wharton James called it "the place where the fictitious marriage of the fictitious Ramona to the fictitious hero took place." The chapel of the home was probably the one Mrs. Jackson described in her romance, but the marriage is no historic fact.

The publisher has done his work as well as the author and has produced a very handsome book. With Professor Newcomb's training and the care and time he has bestowed upon this work it would seem that the last word upon this subject has been reached.

HELEN THROOP PURDY.

Rider's California. A Guide-Book for Travelers. Compiled under the General Editorship of Fremont Rider, by Fred-eric Taber Cooper. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. lxii.+667+48 pages. 28 maps and plans. 12°.

"Rider's California" is one of a series of valuable guide-books of America; and as the editor says, "The Baedeker series has been frankly taken as a model."

This being so, the volume can be appraised at once as methodical rather than brilliant in style. Like the dictionary, it is somewhat "dis-jointed" in continuity; and its 700 pages of 6-point type warn away the eyes that would read it through at a few sittings. The compilers, of course, adopt the barren style of Baedeker as most practical for saying much in comparatively small space; and also because this business-like method of statement induces confidence where a more florid flow of words (often lavished upon our California countryside) might inspire disbelief among the tourist throng. Nevertheless, there are many pages of continuously good writing, especially in the introduction and in the descriptions of the large cities and the major scenic attractions; and the text is further lightened by apt quotations from a host of California writers.

Literary and historical associations of California are touched upon throughout the work. In the introduction, 14 pages are devoted to the History of California, tracing events only up to the period of the Civil War. From there, the reader is left to "piece out" the rest of the history of the State from references under San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento and other cities. Historical allusions are indeed plentiful in the sections of the book dealing with these cities; but a review of events of state-wide importance during the last half-century might well have been appended to the "historical" introduction.

There is a general description of California, with sections on its geology, climate, flora and fauna; together with some notes on "California Life and Customs." The California Bibliography contains a fairly complete list of the best historical works on California; and pays a deserved tribute to the recent works of Charles Edward Chapman, among others. But in two places compliment is paid to the monumental work of "Eldreth" on the Beginnings of San Francisco—"Zoeth Skinner Eldreth" (Eldredge). Acknowledgment is made to many collaborators, particularly librarians and curators of collections; and also to many (but not all) of the preceding works on which this Guide is based.

"Rider's California" represents the work of a capable staff, laboring for no less than three years at high tension. It is a vast compilation, full of valuable information for the traveler and student, and interesting to all who seek to know the history and traditions of the Golden

State. Not the least in value are the splendid maps and the plans of cities—features utterly lacking in previous guides to California.

The information contained in this volume is in the main accurate. It is remarkably accurate for a guide-book. The material has been checked and re-checked, often by experts going over the ground. This conscientious work merits high praise indeed; and is such as is possible only when a real guide-book "organization" with substantial means undertakes a task of this sort. A distinct service to California has been rendered by Fremont Rider, Frederic Taber Cooper, and their collaborators.

In such a vast collection of material, there are invariably omissions and errors. Probably 100,000 facts are laid before the reader in these pages. What wonder that there are hundreds of mis-statements? Few of them are of prime significance; and all will no doubt be corrected in ensuing editions—for this is the first printing.

It may seem meticulous to single out small points of contradiction. Let one or two suffice. In the introduction, it is said that Portolá's first expedition (1769) "continued to push northward, reaching Drake's Bay on October 31." Certainly Portolá did not fare as far as Drake's Bay of the present-day maps. (At another point in the guide-book, page 7, the correct northern limit of Portolá's march is given.)

Of our war with Mexico it is stated, "It was quite generally recognized that the object of the war was the acquisition of California."

The Bret Harte country of the Mother Lode is described in three closely-set pages. Though Bret Harte is in the Index, no reference is there to Mark Twain, though he is mentioned several times in the text. Joaquin Miller and Ambrose Bierce are listed as "other writers who claim a brief mention."

There are many local associations which might well have been added—concerning Bret Harte in the Eureka and Arcata region, for instance; or the young Ulysses S. Grant at Fort Humboldt, near Eureka. References such as these lend real "human interest" to the countryside. California is particularly rich in literary and historical associations; and a multitude of famous personages have visited and dwelt here. The guide-book refers to many such; yet some are overlooked.

All in all, "Rider's California" is a volume which every student of California history should possess—not alone because of its historical references, but because it furnishes a real *background* into which historical knowledge can be fitted. Further, this is a work of reference which every library in the State should make available upon its shelves. And it is a guide which the traveler in California should have handy at all times, for it will do much to make more profitable and more enjoyable the tours of the future.

AUBREY DRURY.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

Fletcher A. Cutler, grand president of the Native Sons of the Golden West, spoke before the California Historical Society at the Hotel St. Francis in San Francisco, August 25, on "The Settlement of California and Its Bearing on American History."

The special topic was chosen as appropriate during the season of celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of California's admission to the Union, which occurred September 9.

Cutler drew attention to the efforts of the order of the Native Sons to aid in gathering, restoring and preserving documents and information touching the early history of California. "Our organization," he said, "is allied with your society in this historical work. Through the University of California we are supporting two fellowships for the purpose of collecting the historical material needed for the writing of a complete history of California. For eleven years we have paid \$3000 annually for this purpose. The money is used to send young men to the original sources of information—to Spain, Portugal, France, England and elsewhere in search of material. These young men gather facts from the log books of old navigators, from official documents at home and abroad. More than 20 young men have been sent on these missions of discovery, and more than 30 books have been written on the subject, and at the University of California 1500 students are enrolled in the course in the history of California.

"This country was ruled first by the roving red men, then came Spain; Drake claimed dominion for England, the Russians left mementoes of their brief stay at Fort Ross and elsewhere, then Mexico, the Bear Flag, and finally this flag of ours.

"The first efforts to fix the boundaries of California led to dissension," the speaker said. "Some advocated setting the line at the Rocky Mountains. The other extreme was a suggestion that we go no farther than the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, and finally it was decided to go to the top of the Sierra in fixing our boundary.

"It seemed providential that after all the changes in the ruling power in this favored land it remained for an American—James W. Marshall—to broadcast to the world the discovery of gold. That discovery at the little town of Coloma was a momentous happening, which changed the history of the world.

"In celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of our natal day we do not rejoice because on a certain day California was admitted to the Union, but because we are permitted to live in this era of great events.

and to feel that California has been true to the principles of honor with which our state was endowed by those who laid the foundations of our government."

WELLS DRURY.

On September 22, at the monthly luncheon, the address was made by Mr. Charles B. Turrill. The speaker's subject was: "Celebrations in San Francisco," and his remarks were amply illustrated with a series of highly interesting pictures.

In his preliminary remarks Mr. Turrill commented upon the strong tendencies of the Californians to "celebrate" events and occasions of all descriptions. In a measure these tendencies were inherited from the Spanish Californians, although their fiestas and religious celebrations differed with those of the American Californians in all but the spirit which actuated such demonstrations.

Public observance of special occasions began early in San Francisco; so early in fact that in this place (known then as Yerba Buena) there were but two houses. The event thus celebrated was the Fourth of July of the year 1836. Participants to the number of sixty were recruited from the adjoining ranchos so far as Sonoma.

Following this, celebrations have been many, and the *motifs* therefor have been almost as numerous. One of the earliest was the elaborate expressions of enthusiasm upon the arrival of the news that California had become one of the United States. Many others have since been staged and they clearly exhibit the versatility of our Californians.

Among numerous others some have had unusual or especial significant interest: the grim demonstrations of the Vigilance committee; Washington's Birthday, 1852; the Firemen of San Francisco, 1853; the Public School celebration, 1854; the Atlantic Cable celebration, 1858; the numerous demonstrations during the years of the Civil war; the arrival of the Japanese Embassy in 1872; the reception of General Grant in 1879; the G. A. R., 1883; the return from the Philippines of the First California Regiment in 1899; the Portolá fiesta, 1909, and the Diamond Jubilee recently concluded.

These are but a few, for as a side-line of activities we have had others: ecclesiastical, patriotic, military, civic, industrial, labor, municipal, domestic and foreign.

Mr. Turrill's remarks were brief and graphically descriptive, and among his illustrations were some that are but little known. The occasion was thoroughly appreciated by all who were in attendance.

ROBERT E. COWAN.

Mr. Reed B. Cherington, on October 20, addressed the Society on "The Present Condition of the Missions," and showed many interesting pictures of them as they were many years ago and as they are today. Mr. Cherington has kindly furnished the following summary of his talk:

Rich is the California commonwealth in the heritage handed down from the Franciscan missions. The student who approaches the study of this great subject is almost overcome with the wealth of material offered: the historical problems yet unsolved, the sociological ventures still inviting research, the religious life unfolding concrete forms of high idealism and sacrifice, while the romance of mission days lures us all with its poetic spell. Materially the contribution made to our western civilization is equally as rich. As the influence of the Colonial period is felt architecturally in many parts of our country, so the handiwork of these holy men has left its impress in California in what we call mission architecture.

But mission architecture as such, has become a misnomer in the riot of designs and creations of modern builders. What may be termed as true mission design in building is the simple expression of pious padres who, though unskilled as artisans, endeavored to reproduce the southern European architecture of their day, having at hand only the crude tools, labor and material found in a wild, pioneer land.

Many of these mission buildings remain as monuments of their devotion and ingenuity. Some of them have been restored with a lack of real appreciation on the part of the original designers, as may be seen in the hideous barn-like roof on the San Carlos Borromeo church at Carmel, or the Santa Clara mission exterior as it stands at present, or the grotesque tower of the San Luis Obispo parish church.

Reconstruction in some instances has been more pleasing, as in the recent attempt at San Juan Bautista when a tower, half Moorish half Spanish, has replaced the old spire of a conventional village church. Also the rebuilding of the San Luis Rey group has been done in the spirit of the early period of the missions, though the original design was not strictly adhered to. Again, this same purpose had been pursued in the remodeling of the mission at Sonoma, where the reconstruction is in fine taste.

Unfortunately, the spirit of commercialism has settled down on the missions here and there as felt at San Juan Capistrano, where a ticket booth guards the gate and a barbed wire fence encircles the enclosure. In the plaza has been placed, as a monument to the padres, a modern group of statuary, incongruous in the simple surroundings. San Carlos, too, has erred in this respect in the erection of a huge, elaborate, expensive sarcophagus, out of keeping with the dignity of the old

mission buildings. San Gabriel has failed in the modern, near-mission chapel built for service at the rear of the church. The theater across the way, ministering to the patronage of the tourist trade detracts from the atmosphere of the ancient institution.

In two instances, at Santa Cruz and San Rafael, the last remnants have been wiped out; only memory and tradition remain as monuments of the past.

Time and the forces of nature have laid blighting hands on three missions, and unless a most active campaign is quickly launched, looking to reconstruction and preservation there will be left only a few unmeaning mounds of adobe to mark La Purisima Concepcion, San Antonio de Padua and La Soledad.

In the ruins of these three missions can still be traced a remnant of their design.

La Purisima has already fallen away so much that only with difficulty can one recognize the various activities of those early days. Here the church, there the living quarters, all placed under one roof. A door yonder and a passageway hinting at a second story to the structure, but nothing more. Already it has become a secret of other years.

San Antonio de Padua, the most alluring of them all in its surroundings, has but little to offer from out the past. The old ruined church, a few arches in their perfect symmetry, the bits of the great aqueduct system which reached out for twenty miles, the remnant of the grist-mill telling of the ingenuity of its constructors, speak to us of by-gone days.

Soledad, in her solitude awaits the final end; but the few standing adobe walls mark the site of the early church, and the living quarters clustered about the inner patio. The ever necessary aqueduct may be found in a segment which passed near the front of the mission doors, but that is all.

The state commission instituted a few years ago by the legislature in the interest of perpetuating historical records, has ceased to function for lack of funds. The only hope that these buildings may be preserved for posterity lies in the voluntary generosity of individuals and the belated activity of ecclesiastical interests, who may yet partly restore these various mission groups to their former glory.

REED B. CHERINGTON.

REPORT OF EXHIBIT COMMITTEE

San Francisco, California,
November 14, 1925.

California Historical Society:

The recent exhibition held during the Jubilee Week, September 7th to 12th, inclusive, was most satisfactory to the Committee, not only in the number of exhibits shown, but also for the interest manifested by the large number of visitors. The attendance was, I think, the largest of any of our previous exhibitions and the expenses were very small. There was expended for card notices for the hallways the sum of \$3.00; for printing invitations \$14.75 and for postage \$10.00, a total of \$27.75.

The fact that the exhibition was held in our own rooms (including that of Mr. Crocker) was mainly responsible for the small outlay. Thanks are due to Mr. Crocker for the use of his room adjoining that of the Society; to Mr. Turrill, Mr. Dunlap, Mr. Blake, Mr. Drury, and Miss Latham for their labors on the Committee, and to the members and others who so generously loaned material on such short notice.

To Mr. DeWitt, the present chairman of our exhibit committee, thanks are due for his great help in installing exhibits.

D. Q. TROY,
Chairman, Jubilee Week Exhibit Committee.

AMENDMENTS TO BY-LAWS*

Adopted July 8, 1924

Article III, Par. 3, amended to read:

Three active members not holding office shall be chosen by the Board of Directors at least thirty days prior to the annual meeting of the Society for the election of *directors*, and the persons so chosen shall constitute the Nominating Committee, which shall in writing report and nominate eleven members eligible for election as directors at least fifteen days before said election. The Directors shall prepare ballots containing such names, which shall be sent by the Secretary to each of the members at least *ten* days before the election, as prescribed by Article XIV.

Article VIII, Par. 1, to read:

Each active member shall pay annual dues of Ten Dollars, due on the second Monday of January of each year, in advance, *provided such active member shall not have qualified as a patron member as provided in Article II.* Each active member *not qualifying as a patron member* shall on his election pay into the treasury the sum of Ten Dollars, which shall be in lieu of the annual dues for the year of his election, *or if he be elected between October 1 and December 31, the sum of Eight Dollars.* Any failure on the part of a member to pay his dues within six months after the same shall have become payable may be considered by the Board of Directors as a resignation.

Each patron member shall pay annual dues of One Hundred Dollars, due on April 1.

Article IX, to read:

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the fourth Friday of January in each year, at such place in San Francisco and time as the President shall designate, and at least *ten days'* notice shall be given of such meeting.

The annual election shall be held at the annual meeting.

A special meeting may be called by the President, or, in his absence or disability, by one of the Vice-Presidents, or in the absence or disability of the President and the Vice-Presidents, by the Secretary on the written request of five active members. The object of such meeting shall be stated in the notice by which it is called. Special meetings shall require five days' notice.

*The By-Laws were printed in Vol. I, No. 1, of the *Quarterly*.

Article XI, last Sentence, to read:

Members of the Society *who have paid their dues* shall receive the *Quarterly for the current year* free of charge.

Article XIII, to read:

Meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held upon the call of the President, or, in the absence or disability of the President, by one of the Vice-Presidents, or in the absence or disability of the President and the Vice-Presidents, by the Secretary upon the written request of any three directors. Notice of the time and place of such meeting shall be given by the Secretary, at least *twenty-four* hours before the holding of such meeting.

Article XV, to read:

At the annual meeting to be held for the election of *directors* the following shall be the order of business:

1. Reading of the minutes of the last meeting.
2. Election of *directors*.
3. Reports and communications from the officers of the Society.
4. Reports of the directors and of committees.
5. Miscellaneous business.

Article XVa:

The members of the Board of Directors of the Society elected pursuant to Article XV, shall upon the call of the President meet and elect the officers of the Society pursuant to Article III.

IN MEMORIAM

MRS. MARIANNA A. WILLS

On November 5, 1925, Mrs. Marianna A. Wills of San Francisco passed away at Lane Hospital from a stroke of paralysis.

Mrs. Wills was born in New Orleans on August 23, 1844, and spent her early childhood in Louisiana and New Hampshire. Her mother, who came of an old New England family, was Elizabeth Maria Bonney Wills, who wrote the ode for the Admission Day celebration in San Francisco in 1850, and her father was W. R. D. Wills, of an early Virginia family. She did not come to California with her mother, but followed a few years later, when eight years old or a little more. In San Francisco, except for absences in Europe, she spent the rest of her life. The house at 269 Bartlett Street was her home for over forty years, and she was especially fond and proud of the old fig tree which almost covered the front of it.

Mrs. Wills was a teacher and a musician, and was associated with her mother in one of the fashionable private schools of early San Francisco. In her long and interesting life she gathered to her a host of friends, among whom were Bret Harte and Ina Coolbrith, California's poet laureate. In fact among her most treasured possessions were some letters written to her by Bret Harte. Mrs. Wills was fond of nature and all outdoors, and especially of birds and flowers. She was a good citizen and was actively interested in the political affairs of the country. Two days before her death she voted at the municipal election and attended a luncheon given by the San Francisco Center. The California Historical Society had no more enthusiastic member. She will be missed at the monthly luncheons which she regularly attended and where her sunny personality gave pleasure to all who met her.

Mrs. Wills left no near relatives.

LIST OF MEMBERS WHO HAVE JOINED THE SOCIETY SINCE OCTOBER, 1923

Alexander, Miss Annie M., Suisun	Hindes, S. G., San Francisco
Badé, Dr. William F., Berkeley	Holmes, N. C., Los Angeles
Bartlett, Mrs. A. G., Los Angeles	Hughes, Rupert, Hollywood
Behrendt, Sam, Los Angeles	Jamieson, Mrs. Katharine C., Oakland
Bliss, Mrs. Walter D., San Francisco	Jesurun, Edward, Palo Alto
Bourn, W. B., San Mateo	Jones, Mrs. John P., New York
Brininstool, E. A., Los Angeles	Kellogg, Miss Louise, Suisun
Brittan, Miss Mary Burt, San Francisco	Kennedy, Mrs. Gerald D., Stockton
Bulla, Robert N., Los Angeles	Kennedy, J. G., San Francisco
Burgard, Mrs. John Clark, Burlingame	Knight, Mrs. Samuel K., Burlingame
Carpenter, Dr. F. L., Berkeley	Koepfli, J. L., Los Angeles
Chalmers, L. H., Phoenix, Arizona	Lamb, Frederick S., Berkeley
Cherington, Reed B., Palo Alto	Lane, George W., San Francisco
Childs, Mrs. Anna L., Berkeley	Lange, William F., San Francisco
Clark, Mrs. Edward H., New York	Latham, Miss Elizabeth W., Berkeley
Colonial Dames of America, S. F.	Layne, J. Gregg, Los Angeles
Crooks, Mrs. Jonathan J., San Rafael	Lewis, E. L., Los Angeles
Cushing, Charles S., San Francisco	Library of Congress, Wash., D. C.
Davis, Charles C., Los Angeles	Lilienthal, Philip N., Jr., S. F.
Dawson, Ernest, Los Angeles	Lorenz, W. H., Lodi
de Forest, Charles N., New York	Madison, James, San Francisco
Dimond, E. R., San Francisco	Magee, David, San Francisco
Duncan, A. L., Piedmont	‡Martin, Mrs. Eleanor, San Francisco
†Easton, Kimball G., Berkeley	Martin, Mrs. O. B., San Francisco
Eastwood, Miss Alice, San Francisco	McDonald, Mark L., San Francisco
Ellis, Arthur M., Los Angeles	McGarry, Mrs. William R., New York
Emerson, Guy, New York	McKinstry, Miss Laura L., San Francisco
Farish, John B., San Francisco	
Ford, Mrs. Bernard, San Mateo	Mehrtens, Mrs. H. G., San Francisco
Forsyth, James, Los Angeles	Merner, Garfield D., San Mateo
Franklin, Mrs. Walter Scott, S. F.	Miller, Mrs. C. O. G., San Francisco
Galbraith, Mrs. Edith C., Berkeley	Miller, Harry East, Oakland
Gallagher, Mrs. Herbert, S. F.	Miller, R. W., San Francisco
Gantner, Mrs. John O., S. F.	Mills College Library, Mills College
Grizzly Bear Club, San Francisco	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul
Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N. Y.	Monterey County Free Library, Salinas
Haber, Dr. W. J., San Francisco	Moody, Mrs. Joseph L., San Francisco
*Hale, Miss Clarissa J., S. F.	‡Moore, Mrs. Mary Young, Los Angeles
Hale, Mrs. O. A., San Francisco	Murray, Hamilton, San Francisco
Hall, Miss Ida S., Alamo	Neilson, Mrs. Kate Felton, San Francisco
Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.	
Hastings, Dr. Hill, Los Angeles	Newhall, Daniel H., New York
	Newmark, M. H., Los Angeles

†Died March 21, 1925.

*Quarterlies sent to the San Jose Public Library.

‡Patron member.

- Nickel, Mrs. J. Leroy, San Francisco
Oakland Free Library, Oakland
Parker, C. H., San Francisco
Parker, Paul P., Salinas
Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena
Pease, Miss Mary E., Los Altos
Phelps, J. W., Los Angeles
Pierce, Mrs. James H., Palo Alto
Roberson, Mrs. Maria Y., San Francisco
Robinson, Ronald S., San Francisco
Root, Henry, Oakland
Rosseter, John H., San Francisco
Ryan, Clyde F., Los Angeles
San Diego Public Library, San Diego
Schwabacher, Frank, San Francisco
Schweitzer, Mrs. Melville, S. F.
Sherman, Frederic R., San Francisco
Society of California Pioneers, S. F.
Soulé, H. D. B., San Francisco
Spencer, Mrs. Dorcas J., Alameda
Stewart, Col. George W., Visalia
Swayne, Robert H., Alameda
Sweet, Mrs. Emma Kessler, S. F.
Tordoff, E. H., Berkeley
University of California, Library of
Southern Branch, Los Angeles
Van Ness, T. C., San Francisco
Weber, Miss Julia H., Stockton
Wheat, Carl I., San Francisco
Wilhoit, E. L., Stockton
Williamson, Miss Lillian A., L. A.
§Wills, Mrs. M. A., San Francisco
Winterburn, Miss Louise E., San Francisco
Yale, Charles, Los Angeles

§Died Nov. 5, 1925.

